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ABSTRACT

Wukari and Takum, two dialects of Jukun, are studied in this text, intended for both the trained linguist and the less trained student. The Jukun tribe is estimated to number 25,000 people living in the Benue River sections of Nigeria. Although the study is not intended to be comparative, some statements are included that indicate the patterned difference between the two dialects. The following topics are treated in detail: (1) phonology; (2) nouns and noun phrases; (3) verbs, verb phrases and pronouns; (4) attributives; and (5) miscellaneous morphemes and constructions. In each section, explanations are given in English, and examples are provided in both dialects with their English equivalents. Following this discussion, nine texts in Takum with interlinear English translations are recorded. Finally, a combined vocabulary of the two dialects is presented in such a way that the phonemic equivalents in both dialects are readily available to students of either dialect. (AMH)

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Jukun of Wukari and Jukun of Takum

W E Welmers

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FOREWORD

This study of Jukun was prepared for the Christian Reformed Church (S.U.M.) in 1949. The Jukun Empire has played an extremely important role in Nigerian history, and the Jukun are making a serious contribution to the Federal Military Government and to building a new Nigeria. For these and many other reasons, Professor Welmers' study has an interest for many people outside the mission for which it was done. The scholars who study the languages and literatures of Africa as a whole, and the schools and Ministries of Education which are developing programmes to teach literacy in Jukun and English will all find this a valuable work. For this reason, the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, is making it available to a wider public by issuing it in the present form, with the author's kind permission.

Thanks are due to the editorial work of Mr. Kiyoshi Shimizu, of Japan, who is a post-graduate student in the Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages, University of Ibadan. He worked with meticulous and indefatigable zeal in editing the carbon-copy manuscript for the typists and in proof-reading the stencils. Thanks are likewise due to Mr. Sam Adeyẹmọ and to Mr. John A. Ọdẹrinde, of the University of Ibadan, for their careful work in typing stencils in a language which is new to them.

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Analysis of Jukun of Wukari and Jukun of Takum

Wm. E. Welmers, Ph.D.

0.0. The material on which this study is based was gathered during the last three months of 1949 at the Lupwe and Wukari stations of the Sudan Mission of the Christian Reformed Church (a branch of the Sudan United Mission) in Benue Province, Northern Nigeria. This research was made possible by a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies, and by the hospitality and generosity of the above-named mission.

0.1. Jukun is the name commonly given to a tribe estimated to number some 25,000 people, and to their language. The tribe occupies approximately the area from 9°E to 12°E, and from 7°N to 10°N. This area, intersected by the Benue river, is not occupied exclusively by Jukun people. Groups from several other tribes are scattered through the same area, and it is quite possible that the area includes one or more entire tribes besides the Jukun. As a designation for the tribe and language, the name Jukun is derived (probably first by the Hausa people) from the phrase /a̍pa dyúkū̆/, which in the speech of the Wukari area means 'people' (not 'Jukun people'; compare /a̍pa/ 'person'). In the Wukari area, the so-called Jukun people call themselves and their language /wapa̍/; in the Takum area to the south, they call themselves and their language /dīyī̍/.[1]

0.2. The dialects treated in this study are those of the Takum area, in the extreme south-central part of the area described above, and of the Wukari area about fifty miles further north and a little to the west. It is questionable whether these should properly be termed "dialects" of the same language or two distinct languages. Many natives of Takum and Wukari understand each other, but this may be because of frequent contact rather than dialectal similarity. A speaker of either dialect, without having previously heard a word of the other, would unquestionably understand many words and sentences in the other with no difficulty. But whether he would understand a connected speech of some length -- a folk story, for example -- is another question.

0.3. North and northeast of Wukari, it is reported that three or more principal dialect areas exist besides the two included in this study. However, it appears that the two dialects included here represent extremes of difference within what is called Jukun, and that a study of other dialects would not reveal many new features, but different combinations and patterns of those found in Takum (/dɪyɪ̍/)and Wukari (/wapa̍/). The dialect of the town of Donga, about eighteen miles southeast of Wukari, is closely similar to that of Takum. References to this and other dialects much like that of Takum are to be found in this study.[2]

0.4. This study is not intended to be comparative, although a few statements are included indicating the patterned differences between the dialects. The reason for including two dialects in one study is that they have so much in common that it is frequently economical to allow one statement to cover both, and to make separate statements only where necessary. It is hoped that the results of this attempt will be useful for both the trained linguist and the less trained student of either dialect.

0.5. A study of this type requires certain conventions in citing linguistic forms. At the risk of some unnecessary duplication, the procedure adopted is to cite the forms used in both dialects in all cases. Wherever it is practicable, forms are listed in two columns, headed Takum and Wukari. If the forms are identical in the two dialects, the Wukari column is left blank. A dash (-) in either column indicates that that dialect has no form comparable to the form in the other dialect. A question mark indicates that the corresponding form was not recorded for that dialect, though it may exist. A parenthesized form is one that is irrelevant to the statement preceding; it is included for comparison with the form of the other dialect, not for illustration of the point under discussion. If only one illustration from only one dialect is in point, it is indicated by the initial T for Takum or W for

Wukari. If several illustrations from only one dialect are pertinent, it is stated that these are from that dialect only.

0.6. Forms cited in square brackets [ ] are in phonetic transcription. Forms cited in slanting lines / / are in the transcription recommended as a practical orthography of the language. This transcription is phonemic in all respects except one. A distinction is made in this transcription between /m/ and /mb/, between /n/ and /nd/, and between /ŋ/ and /ŋg/. These distinctions are not phonemic. /m, n, ŋ/ occur only before nasalized vowels, while /mb, nd, ŋg/ occur only before oral vowels. Nasalization, which is the phonemic distinction involved here, is not indicated after /m, n, ŋ/, but may be considered automatic in this transcription. For example, the forms /ma/ and /mba/ in this transcription represent what in a strictly phonemic transcription would be /mã/ and /ma/ respectively.

1. Phonology.

1.0. This section describes the phonemes of both the Takum and Wukari dialects, and their alternants. In listing phonemes and clusters, an asterisk indicates a phoneme or cluster found only in the Wukari dialect. There are no phonemes or clusters found only in Takum.

1.1. In the following phoneme chart, digraphs represent unit phonemes. The phonemes are:

Consonants:

	Labial	Alveolar		Velar[3]	Double
Voiceless stops:	p	t	ts*	k	kp
Voiced stops:	b	d	dz*	g	gb
Voiceless fricatives:	f	s		h	
Voiced fricatives:	v	z			
Voiced continuants:	w	r		y	
Nasals:	m	n		ŋ	

Vowels:

	Front	Central	Back
High:	i		u
Mid:	e		o
Low:		a	

Syllable nasalization: ~(written over vowels except after /m, n, ŋ/)

Tones: High ´; Mid '; Low (unmarked, but see 1.9 below)

Falling high to low ˆ; Falling mid to low ˋ

Rising low to high ˇ

Utterance endings: Declarative .: Interrogative ?.

1.2. The following consonant clusters occur:

1.2.1. /Cy/ with all C except /ts*, dz*, kp, gb, w, r, y/, but clusters confined to Wukari:

py	ty*	ky
by	dy	gy
fy	sy	hy*
vy	zy	
my*, mby	ndy	ŋgy

1.2.2. Several cases of /Cw/, most of them in Wukari only, and none of them very common:

pw*	tsw*	kw
bw	dzw*	
	sw*	hw

1.3. Stops and fricatives show no appreciable positional alternation or dialectal difference. /kp/ and /gb/ are double stops, closed and released with no noticeable suction or pressure in the cavity between the two closures. The Wukari phonemes /ts, dz/ are affricates; /ts/ is sometimes glottalized. The remaining stops and fricatives are much like the corresponding English consonants. The following citations illustrate all of these consonants without further comment:

	Takum	Wukari	
p:	/pa̍ra/	/a̍pe̍/	'pot'
t:	/ta̍na/	/atā̍/	'house'
ts*:	(/sa̍/)	/tsa̍/	'do'
k:	/kuru/	/a̍ku/	'chief'
kp:	/kpa̍ syi̍/	/kpa̍ su̍/	'go forward'
b:	/bana/	/a̍bã/	'stone'
d:	/da̍/		'hit'
dz*	(/zo/)	/dzo/	'weave'
g:	/ge̍/		'cut'
f:	/fúra/	/a̍fí/	'sheltered gathering place'
s:	/sa̍/	(/tsa̍/)	'do'
	/sa/	/a̍sa/	'blood'
h:	/goho̍/	/agoho̍/	'skin, leather'
	(/wu̍/)	/hu̍/	'die'
v:	/vu̍na/	/a̍vi̍/	'horse'
z:	/zà/	/a̍za̍/	'guinea corn'

The only instance of any of these consonants in final position is the following: T /ádu̍p/ (W /ádzwe̍/) 'ten'.

/kp/ is rare in both dialects, though /gb/ is fairly common.

Limitations in the distribution of /h/ are discussed in connection with clusters in sections 1.6.7 below.

1.4. The phonemes /m, n, ŋ/, as phonemes, occur before both oral and nasalized vowels. Before oral vowels, the cessation of nasalization precedes the release of the stop; these sequences are written /mbV, ndV, ŋgV/. The sequences of these phonemes followed by nasalized vowels are written /mV, nV, ŋV/, with no further indication of nasalization.

1.4.1. The articulation of these phonemes in prevocalic position requires only one comment. /ŋ/ has the phonetic value [ŋ] only without lip rounding. The analysis of [ŋ] with lip rounding as /w/ in a nasalized syllable is described in 1.5 below. /ŋ/ occurs only before /a/ except that the alternant /ŋg/ occurs also before /o/. None of these consonants is common. The frequency of /n/ in comparison to /nd/ is higher than the average frequency of nasalized syllables in comparison to oral. The following forms illustrate these consonants with oral and nasalized vowels:

	Takum	Wukari	
mb:	/mba/		'give birth to'
m:	/ma̍na/	/a̍ma̍/	'salt'
nd:	/ba nde/		'be quiet'
n:	/nè/	/a̍na̍/	'cow'

	Takum	Wukari	
ŋg:	/ŋgò/		'be tough'
ŋ:	/ŋa wǒ/	/ŋa wǒ/	'rest'

1.4.2. Both dialects have syllabic /m/ in one pronoun form; Wukari also has syllabic /n/ as an alternant of the same pronoun, but Takum has /m/ in every case:

Takum	Wukari	
/m bi̍ rà/		'I have come'
/m hwẽ pu ká/	/m hwẽ pa dyúkũ/	'I counted the people'
/m ri̍ yà/	/n di̍ yà/	'I'm going'

1.4.3. Takum dialect only has final /m/ in a few words:

Takum	Wukari	
/wòm/	/wẽ̍/	'be dry'
/gbàm/	/gbã̍/	'be strong'
/tam/	/bùtyi̍/	'hat'

1.5. Nasalization in the sequences /mV, nV, ŋV/ described above has been called "syllable nasalization". The anticipation of the oral vowel in /mbV, ndV, ŋgV/ is an example of how the presence or absence of nasalization affects the entire syllable, and not merely the vowel. Two further characteristics of nasalized syllables in Takum, and alternants of /w,y/ in both dialects and of /r/ in Wukari especially, may be discussed in this connection.[3a]

1.5.1. In Takum, nasalized syllables are followed only by /n/ (or rarely /m, ŋ/ in the same word; oral syllables are followed only by /r/ (or rarely /w/; either may be followed by other consonants like /k, t/ in compounds, but these are irrelevant here. In Wukari, there is a tendency for the same pattern to be followed, but there is at least one notable exception. The effect of this distinction is that in Takum nasalization is not phonemic before /m, n, ŋ/, while in Wukari it is. Note that in the following examples both dialects have phonetically nasalized vowels before nasal consonants; but only Wukari has phonemically nasalized vowels there:

	Takum	Wukari	
	/tàna/	/àtã̀/	'house'
	/bana/	/àbã̀/	'stone'
cf.	/bara/	/àba/	'bag'
	/pina/	/pyĩna/	'two'
	/yènà/	/yẽ̀nà/	'four'
	/sònà/	/tswã̀nà/	'five'
cf.	/sàrà/	/tsàrà/	'three'
	/wùwa/		'woman'
but	/wùnu/	/wùnu/	'man'

In the last pair of forms, the Takum form is phonetically [ŋùnɑ̃], while the Wukari form is [wùnɑ̃], with the first syllable oral.

1.5.2. Before other types of consonants, syllable nasalisation in Takum is different from the same in Wukari in another respect. A nasalized syllable in Takum anticipates the following consonant by continuing the nasalization until after the articulation of the consonant begins; in Wukari the cessation of nasalization and the beginning of the consonant are simultaneous. For example:

Takum		Wukari		
/wã zu/:	[ŋwã̍nzù̍]		[ŋwã̍zù̍]	'pass by'.
/syĩpĩ/:	[šĩmp$_y$ĩ]	/tyĩpyĩ/:	[čĩp$_y$ĩ]	'seven'
/ápù̍pù̍/:	[ápù̍mpù̍]		[ápù̍pũ]	'in the morning'

This continuation of nasalization in Takum is less prominent before consonants of the velar series; it is barely audible in Takum /kyã̍kyã̍/ 'guinea fowl'.

1.5.3. The most significant example of syllable nasalization is found in the alternants of /w/ and /y/ in both dialects. In oral syllables, these consonants are much like their English counterparts:

Takum	Wukari	
/wò̍/		'dip'
/wù̍dyì̍/	/wì̍dyi/	'buffalo'
/yà̍/		'go'
/yù̍ra/	(/à̍hyù̍/)	'forest'

In nasalized syllables, /w/ and /y/ have a nasal (not merely nasalized) onset. /w/ is [ŋ] with lip rounding before /u, o/, and [ŋw] before /i, e, a/. /y/ is [ny] before all vowels. For example:

Takum		Wukari		
/wɑ̃/:	[ŋɑ̃]			'child'
/wõ/:	[ŋõ]			'roast'
/wẽ̍/:	[ŋwẽ̍]			'blow (a horn)'
/yã/:	[nyã]			'look for'
/yúnu/:	[nyɑ́̃nɑ̃]	/yúnu/:	[nyɑ́̃nɑ̃]	'sun, day'

1.5.4. In both dialects, /r/ is an alveolar flap. In Takum, it does not occur in a nasalized syllable. In Wukari, it is nasalized throughout in a nasalized syllable.[4] For example:

Takum	Wukari	
/mbòra/	(/a̍mbò/)	'hunger (stomach?)'
/sa̍ra̍/	/tsa̍ra̍/	'three
/ku̍ bi ra/		'he has come'
/ku̍ byẽ̍ ra̍/: [ra̍]	/ku̍ byẽ̍ rã̍/: [r̃ã̍]	'it is ripe'

1.6. Several points are to be noted concerning /Cy/ clusters:

1.6.1. In /Cy/ clusters, /y/ is voiced after a voiced consonant, but voiceless after a voiceless consonant. In /by, vy, my, mby, gy, ŋgy/, /y/ is vocalic; but this is not usually true in /dy, my, ndy/. The analysis of this sound as

/y/ rather than /i/ is determined by two facts: (1) it always has the same tone as the vowel following (i.e., its tone is not phonemic), and (2) no other vowel clusters occur in either dialect. (For examples of these, see the following sections.)

1.6.2. Clusters of the labial series are palatalized forms of the corresponding consonants, with a strong palatal off-glide before vowels other than /i/. In Takum, these clusters do not occur before /i/, but are neutralized with the simple consonants. In Wukari, however, some of these clusters contrast with the simple consonants before /i/. In /pyi/ etc., strong palatal friction is heard throughout the vowel; but in /pi/ etc. no such friction is heard, and the vowel tends to be slightly centralized. These statements are illustrated in the following forms:

	Takum	Wukari	
py:	/pyĕ/		'front'
pyi*:	(/pina/)	/pyīna/	'two'
pi:	(/pu kă/)	/pi kă/	'change, turn over'
by:	/byè̍/		'ripen: heal'
byi*:	(/bína/)	/abyí/	'goat'
bi:	?	/abī́/	'sieve'
	/bi̍/		'come'
fy:	/fyekĕ/		'peanuts'
fyi*:	(/fīfī/	/åfyi̍/	'rat'

	Takum	Wukari	
fi:	(/fúra/	/åfí/	'sheltered gathering place'
vy:	/vyŏ̍/	/a.yŏ̍/	'fellow countryman'
vyi*:	(/vi̍/)	/vyi̍/	'steal'
vi:	(/vu̍na/)	/avɨ̍/	'horse'
mby:^{5}	/mbyė/		'ask, inquire'

The following comparative statement, derived from the above citations, is generally valid, but not without exceptions:

Wukari /Cyi/ parallels Takum /Ci/

Wukari /Ci/ parallels Takum /Cu/

1.6.3. /ty*, dy, sy, zy, ndy/ are palatalized [č, j, š, ž, nj]. The sounds are less strongly palatalized in Takum, where they closely resemble the initial consonants in English (cheap) jeep, sheep and the medial consonants in pleasure, angel; the tongue is held slightly farther forward than for the English sounds, but the [y] off-glide is usually weak. In Wukari, the palatalization is stronger, and the [y] off-glide is more prominent.

/ty/ does not occur in Takum, though one informant sometimes uses it in one common word instead of the usual /sy/. /zy/ is recorded in only one word in Takum; but an informant from the town of Bete, the dialect of which is otherwise nearly identical with that of Takum, seems to use /zy/ wherever Takum informants use /dy/. Information for Donga is not available;

all four clusters may exist there. For Takum and Wukari:

	Takum	Wukari	
ty*:	(/syidŏ/	/tyidŏ/	'God'[6]
	(/su/)	/åtyu/	'rain'
dy:	/dyíná/		'today'
sy:	/syára/	/'asyi/	'hole in the ground'
zy:	/zyĕkuru/	(/zĕku/)	'lion'
	(/yì ká/)	/zyè̆zyĕ/	'children'

1.6.4. /ky, gy, ŋgy/ are more fronted in Takum than in Wukari. In Takum, contact is made between the center of the tongue and the palate; in Wukari, the contact is between the back of the tongue and the palate. The Takum sounds thus come a little closer to the initial consonants in English cheap and jeep, but are by no means the same (cf. 1.6.3 above). Only Wukari has /hy/.

In Takum, these clusters do not occur before /i/, but are neutralized with the simple consonants. In Wukari, however, at least /ky/ contrasts with /k/ before /i/. In /kyi/, the back of the tongue touches the palate, and there is palatal friction throughout the vowel; but in /ki/ the back of the tongue touches the velum, and there is no friction during the vowel, which is somewhat centralized. cf. 1.6.2. above, and the comparative statement at the end of that section. The following forms illustrate these clusters and the relevant contrasts:

	Takum	Wukari	
ky:	/kyona/	/åkyō/	'stronger'
ky*:	(/ki̍ra/)	/åkyī̍/	'mashed food'
ki:	/kì/ (!)	/åkī̍/	'corpse'
gy:	/á gbá gyè/		'Hello!'
hy*:	(/yůra/)	/åhyů/	'forest'
hyi*:[7]	(/ko̊kwái/)	/ahyī̍/	'partridge'
hi*:	(/yi̍na/)	/åhī̍/[8]	'tree, wood'

1.7. The following /Cw/ clusters are comparable to /Cy/ clusters in that /w/ is voiced after a voiced consonant and voiceless after a voiceless consonant. These clusters occur only before /i, e, a/; they are neutralized with the simple consonants before /u, o/. None of them is common.

	Takum	Wukari	
pw*:	?	/pwa/	'pierce'
bw:	/yō̍bwà/	(/åyī̍/)	'bird'
	(/gbā̍/)	/bwā̍/	'kill'
tsw*:	(/sóna/)	/åtswḗ/	'burden'
dzw*:	(/zō̍/)	/dzwā̍/	'eat (food that requires chewing)'
sw*:	(/kyā̍kyā̍/)	/åswé/	'guinea fowl'
kw:	/kwḕ/	/åkwē̍/	'justice'
	(/kuna/)	/åkwī/	'chicken'

	Takum	Wukari	
	/kwĭ/	(/a̍dzwĩ/)	'toad'
hw:	/hwẽ̍/		'buy'

With the exception of one questionable form in Wukari (see 1.6.4 above), /h/ occurs in both dialects only before /o, u/, and /hw/ only before /i, e, a/. Unlike /k, kw/ and other pairs, /h, hw/ are neutralized. Takum lacks /hy/, but in Wukari /hy/ contrasts with the neutralized pair /h, hw/.

1.8. The positional alternants of vowels are as follows:

1.8.1. /a/ is [a], about as in English father, with no appreciable variation, whether oral or nasalized:

Takum	Wukari	
/bara/	/a̍ba/	'bag'
/bana/	/a̍bã/	'stone'
/yã/		'look for'

1.8.2. The position of oral /e/ is between that of the vowels in English tyey and pet in most combinations:

Takum	Wukari	
/be/	/a̍be/	'money'
/dyẽ/	/a̍dye̍	'fish'
/gbe̍/		'pull'

However, /e/ is centralized after /k/ in Takum:

Takum	Wukari	
/ke̍ba/	/a̍ke̍/	'bone'

Takum	Wukari	
/kema/	?	'be short'

Nasalized /ẽ/ is [ɛ̃] in both dialects (as in man):

Takum	Wukari	
/byẽ̍/		'ripen; heal'
/pẽ̍/		'expose for drying'

1.8.3. Similarly, the position of oral /o/ is between that of the vowels in English boat and British or Dutch pot; but nasalized /õ/ has the latter position:

Takum	Wukari	
/ko̍/		'dip'
/bu̍so̍/	/bu̍tso̍/	'work'
/syõ̍/	tyõ̍/	'want, like'
/wõ/		'roast'

But in Takum, /o/ (non-phonemically nasalized) before /na/ and (oral) before /ra/ is [wʌ] (much like the sound before z in English was):

Takum	Wukari	
/sona/	(/åsõ/)	'moon, month'
/kyọna/	(/åkyõ/)	'stranger'
/kora/	(/åko/)	'canoe'
/pora/	(/åpyo/)	'hole through something'

1.8.4. /i/ is [i], oral and nasalized, in most cases:

Takum	Wukari	
/bi̍/		'come'
/dyi̍/		'eat (soft foods)'
(/kuna/)	/àkwī/	'chicken'
/wu̍yi̍/	/àwi̍yi̍/	'elephant'

However, as has been observed and illustrated in 1.6.2, 4 above, /i/ after /Cy/ clusters of the labial and velar series (Wukari only) is accompanied by palatal friction, and after the corresponding simple consonants is somewhat centralized. /i/ is also slightly centralized after /k/ in Takum.

1.8.5. /u/ is slightly lower than [u] (approximating the position of the vowel in English book in all instances, oral or nasalized:

Takum	Wukari	
/súra/	(/àsí/)	'yams'
/yu̍ra/	/àhyu̍/	'forest'
/yúnu/	/yúnu/	'sun, day'

1.9. The two dialects have the same tonemes, although the distribution of these tonemes in relation to morphemes is quite different in the two. It will be worthwhile to anticipate some details of morphology in this section in connection with certain of the tonemes.[9]

1.9.1. The three level tones occur in minimal contrast in many cases:

Takum	Wukari	
/kuna/	/àkwī/	'chicken'
/kùna/	/àkwī̀/	'millstone'
/kúna/	/àkwī́/	'knife'
(/buna/)	/akwī/	'small-necked gourd'
/bara/	/àba/	'bag'
/bàra/	/àbè/	'foot'
/be/	/àbe/	'honey'
/sona/	/àsõ/	'moon, month'
/sóna/	/àtswẽ́/	'burden'
/sònà/	/tswã̀nà/	'five'
/hwẽ/		'count'
/hwẽ̀/		'buy'
/yã/		'look for'
/yã̀/		'praise'
/ì yà/		'we went'
/i yà/		'let's go'
/u yà/		'you went'
/ú yà/		'Go!'
/kù sà bùsò/	/kù tsà bùtsò/	'he worked'
/kú sà bùsò/	/kú tsà bùtsò/	'he should work'

Note in particular the following twelve sentences, each of which is perfectly natural and sensible, and each of which differs from all the others only in tone, in either dialect:

Takum	Wukari	
/i̍ hwĕ̍ kuna/	/i̍ hwĕ̍ kwī/	'we bought a chicken'
/i̍ hwĕ̍ ku̍na/	/i̍ hwĕ̍ kwī̍/	'we bought a millstone'
/i̍ hwĕ̍ kúna/	/i̍ hwĕ̍ kwí/	'we bought a knife'
/í hwĕ̍ kuna/	/í hwĕ̍ kwī/	'let's buy a chicken'
/í hwĕ̍ ku̍na/	/í hwĕ̍ kwī̍/	'let's buy a millstone'
/í hwĕ̍ kúna/	/í hwĕ̍ kwí/	'let's buy a knife
/i̍ hwĕ kuna/	/i̍ hwĕ kwī/	'we counted the chickens'
/i̍ hwĕ ku̍na/	/i̍ hwĕ kwī̍/	'we counted the millstones'
/i̍ hwĕ kúna/	/i̍ hwĕ kwí/	'we counted the knives
/í hwĕ kuna/	/í hwĕ kwī/	'let's count the chickens'
/í hwĕ ku̍na/	/í hwĕ kwī̍/	'let's count the millstones'
/í hwĕ kúna/	/í hwĕ kwí/	'let's count the knives'

By additional tonemic features discussed below, at least two more sentences can be added to this list for Wukari, and then the whole lot of them (again for Wukari) doubled by a tonemic contrast giving contrastive emphasis to the noun objects.

1.9.2. In Takum, the two falling tones are fairly common in noun stems without a suffix, and contrast with low tone in other noun stems and with mid and high in other morphemes.

The cognate forms in Wukari have mid tone parallel to the mid-low fall, and high parallel to the high-low fall. In Wukari, the falling tones are confined to pronoun forms in final position; the Takum cognates of these have level tones, the reverse of the situation with nouns.

	Takum	Wukari	
	/zà/	/a̍za̍/	'guinea corn'
cf.	/za/		'sweep'
	/nè/	/a̍na̍/	'cow'
cf.	/ne/	/a̍ne/	'hoe'
	/bâ/	/a̍bá/	'dog'
cf.	/be/	/a̍be/	'money'
cf.	/be/		'cover'
	/be ḿ/	/be m̂/	'my money'
	/be bá/	/be à/	'his money'

cf. Wukari: /be a̍ víni̍ rà̍/ 'his money is gone'

and: /be ḿ víni̍ rà̍/ 'my money is gone'

In Takum, the high-low fall before high tone, as in T /bâ ḿ/ 'my dog', falls only to about a mid level.

1.9.3. Rising tone (low to high) is recorded in only a few words in Takum, and in only one in Wukari. Neither this nor the falling tones can be reasonably interpreted as sequences of level tones accompanying long vowels. The vowels are not appreciably longer than those with level tones, and the distinction in length cannot be shown to be phonemic. Examples of rising tone are:

Takum	Wukari	
/bǎni̍/		'there is none; it is not there'
/kwī/	(/àdzwī/)	'toad'
/nǎ/	(/àyè/)	'mother'
/mǎ/	?	'older sister (?)'
/fǐfǐ/	(/afyi̍/)	'rat'

1.9.4. In both dialects there are also rising tones, and in Wukari falling tones as well, which depend upon morphophonemic changes in certain morphological junctures. The phonemic status of these and other junctures has not been thoroughly investigated. Asuming that spaces between words are written on purely morphological grounds, the writing of these rising and falling tones is a variation on the symbols used above for falls from mid to low and high to low, and for a rise from low to high. In addition, a new rise from mid to high is indicated in the morphological situations involved here.

The level at the beginning of these rising and falling tones is indicated as any regular level tone. The level at the end is indicated before the initial consonant of the next word, by the symbol /ʼ/ for high and /ˋ/ for low. In every instance of these tone glides, the end of the glide is morphologically an alternant of a prefix /á/ (in both dialects) or /a/ (Wukari only). The vowel of this prefix drops when another word precedes.

The resultant forms do not contain long vowels. There is no remnant of the prefixes in question at all, in tone or vowel length, if a vowel with the same tone precedes.

An interesting dialect difference is that in Takum it is the end of a rising tone that is stressed, while in Wukari it is the beginning that is stressed. Thus forms from the two dialects which are identical in tone are quite different in stress. The phonemic status of stress, here and elsewhere, has not been completely investigated. However, there is no **evidence** that it is phonemic, and in at least some phrases there appears to be some freedom in the position of stress.

The following examples illustrate these morphologically complex rising and falling tones, with comparisons to clarify the morphological situation and to illustrate contrasts with other forms.

Takum	Wukari	
/pere ʼsårå/	/åpa ʼtsårå/	'three people'
/dyì ʼso̊nå/	/ådyů ʼtswånå/	'five years'
/bê ʼso̊nå/	/åbá tswånå/	'five dogs'

Takum	Wukari	
/kwĭ pina/	/àdzwī ´pyīna/[10]	'two toads'
/kù rı̍ bı̍ ´kyĕ/	(/kù rı̍ bí kyĕ/)[11]	'he's coming tomorrow'
/bà yà ´na/	(/bà yá na/)[11]	'they went yesterday'
/u syı̍ bà ´kè/	/u bà ´kè/	'what do you have?'

The following types show these tones in Wukari only; they include a construction indicating contrastive emphasis, and nouns with the prefix /a/.

(/m syı̍ ba zà/)	/m bà ´zà/	'it is guinea corn I have'
(/ı̍ hwĕ̍ kwī/)	/ı̍ hwĕ ´kwī/	'it is a chicken we bought'[12]
(/kù rı̍ yà kí nı̍/)	/kù rı̍ yú `nı̍/	'where is he going?'
(/kù syı̍ kéré/)	/kù kí `rè/	'he is here'
(/kù syı̍ bà duŋa/)	/kù bà `dŭ/	'he has a sheep'
(/ı̍ hwĕ̍ buna/)	/ı̍ hwĕ̍ `kwī/	'we bought a small-necked gourd'[13]

A combination of these two constructions in Wukari is also possible, adding a further complex tone, rising-falling:

(/ı̍ hwĕ̍ buna/)	/ı̍ hwĕ̍ ^kwī/	'it is a small-necked gourd that we bought'
cf. /á buna/	/á `kwī/	'it is a small-necked gourd'[14]

1.9.5. In both dialects, a falling tone from high to mid is recorded, in each case in one word only, and in different words in the two dialects. In Takum, the form is tentatively analysed as /kóò/ 'there'; it is probably morphologically complex, derived from something like */kú wò/; however, the vowel is not actually longer than those dealt with up to this point. In Wukari, a sentence was recorded with a tonally similar form, but there was no opportunity to find similar sentences to see whether the morphological analysis is incomplete. The sentence is, tentatively: /àbyè na kó̍ò/ 'the sky is cloudy'.[15]

1.10. Both dialects have two intonemes which affect the end of an utterance. A period /./ (or no mark as in the examples above) is used to indicate a zero change in tone and syllable length; i.e., in such utterances the descriptions above are complete. Such utterances include questions containing an interrogative word; for example:

Takum	Wukari	
/kù ri̍ sà ˊkè./	/kù ri̍ tsà ˊkè./	'What is he doing?'
/u yà kí ni̍./	/u yá ˋni̍./	'Where did you go?'

In both dialects, the interrogative intoneme marked /?/ includes a lengthening of the final syllable. In Takum, the tone of this syllable is extended without change. In Wukari, final high tone drops to about mid at the end, mid to lower mid, and low tone remains unchanged. The brackets with the following examples enclose marks indicating the melody of the final syllable.

Takum	Wukari	
/ku̍ syi̍ ba̍ be./ [-]	/ku̍ ba̍ be./ [_]	'He has money.'
/ku̍ syi̍ ba̍ be?/ [__]	/ku̍ ba̍ be?/ [__]	'Does he have money?'
/ku̍ ri̍ ya̍./ [-]		'He is going.'
/ku̍ ri̍ ya̍?/ [—·]	[ ]	'Is he going?'
/ku̍ ya̍ dyíná./ [¯]		'He went today.'
/ku̍ ya̍ dyíná?/ [¯]	[ ]	'Did he go today?'
/ku̍ syi̍ ba̍ zà?/ [ ]	/ku̍ ba̍ za̍?/ [ ]	'Does he have guinea corn?'
/ku̍ syi̍ ba̍ bê?/ [ ]	/ku̍ ba̍ bá?/ [ ]	'Does he have a dog?'
/ku̍ syi̍ kóò?/ [ ]	[ku̍ kí tiri̍?/ [ ]	'Is he there?'

2. Nouns and Noun Phrases.[16]

2.0. A noun may be defined for Jukun as a word (or phrase) which may be used before a verb as subject or after a verb as object. This definition pre-supposes that we know what a verb is. For the definition of a verb, see 3.0.

2.1. In both dialects, most nouns contain one stem. Noun stems, as well as other stems, are predominantly if not exclusively monosyllabic. However, the structure of these simple nouns differs in the two dialects.

2.1.1. In Wukari, most nouns have the prefix /à/ when they are used initially; after another word, this prefix drops. Some nouns have the prefix /a/ in initial position; after another word, the vowel of this prefix drops, but the tone is retained after mid or high tone. The following exmaples are from Wukari only:

/àbe/	'money':	/kù bà be/	'he has money'
/àbyí/	'goat':	/kù bwằ byí/	'he killed a goat'
/àzà/	'guinea corn':	/kù ne zà/	'he boiled guinea corn'
/adɑ̆/	'sheep':	/kù hwề ˋdɑ̆/	'he bought a sheep'

2.1.2. In Takum, there is no noun prefix. Many nouns seem to have the structure CV, but almost all of these must be interpreted as having a suffixed low tone. Low tone in the stem plus suffixed low tone results in simple low tone; that is, the suffix has a zero alternant. Mid tone plus suffixed low tone is falling mid to low. High tone plus suffixed low tone is falling high to low. Thus the falling tone of Takum are interpreted as morphologically complex. This analysis is suggested by the fact that no morpheme other than a noun has falling tone, and only a very few nouns are recorded with mid or high tone. In the following examples, all the Takum forms are interpreted as stem plus suffixed low tone:

Takum	Wukari	
/be/	/a̍be/	'money'
/ne/	/a̍ne/	'hoe'
/zà/	/a̍za̍/	'guinea corn'
/dyì/	/a̍dyu̍/	'year'
/dyê/	/a̍dyé/	'fish'
/dyî/	/adyí/	'dirt'

Takum's mid-low fall corresponds to mid tone in Wukari; the high-low fall corresponds to high tone in Wukari. It is not possible to work from the Wukari form back to the Takum form in the same way, because many CV stems in Wukari correspond to stems plus another suffix in Takum.

Takum also has a very few nouns with no suffix:

	Takum	Wukari	
	/dĕ̍/		'area above'
	/vya̍/		'good health' (?)
cf.	/m fo̍ vya̍/		'I feel well'

2.1.3. Many other nouns in Takum have the suffix /ra/, which has the alternant /na/ after a nasalized stem. (In the latter, nasalization is automatic in terms of the suffix, and is not marked.) For example:

Takum	Wukari	
/bara/	/a̍ba/	'bag'

/kara/	?	'axe'
/dàra/	/àdà/	'farm'
/ki̍ra/	/àkyi̍/	'mashed food'
/dyíra/	/àdyí/	'word, matter'
/súra/	/àsí/	'yams'
/bana/	/abã/	'stone'
/kuna/	/àkwĩ/	'chicken'
/syi̍na/	/àtyĩ̍/	'top, head'
/kùna/	/àkwĩ̍/	'millstone'
/kána/	/àkã́/	'charcoal'
/kúna/	/àkwĩ́/	'knife'

In these forms, the tones of cognate stems in the two dialects are usually the same, though a few exceptions are recorded of high in Takum corresponding to mid in Wukari. The The phonetic correspondences between the dialects are fairly regular if the Wukari forms are taken as basic.

2.1.4. Takum also has a number of nouns with a suffix consisting of /r/ plus the vowel of the stem; in two cases, the vowel of the stem is reconstructed from the Wukari form. In all the clear cases of this formation, the stem has low tone. For example:

Takum	Wukari	
/diri/	/àdi/	'body, self'
/kuru/	/àku/	'chief'

/sere/	/a̍tse/	'bundle (as of grain)'
/pere/	/a̍pa/ (!)	'person'
/biru/	/a̍byu/	'oil'
/piru/	/a̍pyu/	'fire'

2.1.5. Both dialects also have a number of nouns which appear on the surface to have disyllabic stems. Perhaps some of them have. However, such nouns are far more frequent in Takum than in Wukari, and the forms in the two dialects are often not cognate. It is more likely, therefore, that at least many of these forms are to be accounted for in other ways. Perhaps in some cases there is a rarer suffix that has not been identified by several examples. Some of these nouns are probably compounds, the constituents of which have not yet been discovered. Others -- particularly in the light of the fact that some occur in Takum but not in Wukari -- may be loanwords. In the Takum forms, but not in Wakuri, final low tone is far commoner than final mid or high. The following lists a variety of these forms; forms which may require the same type of analysis are grouped together.

Takum	Wukari	
/duŋa/	/adū/	'sheep'
/sika/	/a̍so/	'beans'
/ke̍ba/	/a̍ke̍/	'bone'

/níŋa/	/anú/	'arrow'
/tami/		'hyena'
/nami/	/numi/	'crocodile'
/kírí/	/a̍tyu̍/	'mat'
/páná/	/a̍ki/	'shield'
/pórá/	/a̍fye̍/	'eggplant'
/dúmá/	/a̍ŋgyi̍ri̍/	'vulture'
/nágbá/	/a̍ne̍/	'scorpion'
/kusá/	/a̍kwe/	'gourd'
/yãkẽ/		'back, after'
/zape/	/dyape	'water'[17]
/bándu/		'relatives, people'
/syi̍tá/	/asyitá/	'pepper'
/ku̍té/		'crying out'
/adṓ/	/a̍dṓ/	'kind of monkey'
/syágba̍/	/a̍syágba̍/	'quiver'
/ti̍sye̍/	/a̍ti̍sye̍/	'basket'
/tu̍kpa̍/	/a̍tu̍kpa̍/	'cloth'[18]
/syidō̍/	/tyidō̍/	'God'
/bu̍sum/	/báki̍ndo̍/	'fetish'[19]

In Wukari, nouns with a base (if not stem) of more than one syllable may be used in initial position with or without a prefix.

2.1.6. There appear to be some nouns derived from verb stems by a change of tone. These occur predominantly in phrases in which the basic verb is followed by the derived noun as an object. The resultant form might be described as a reduplicated verb stem except for two important facts: (1) the second element, in at least some cases, has in Takum the high-low falling tone which otherwise occurs only with nouns; and (2) in negative constructions this element has the position of a noun, a position which a verb cannot occupy. Not many of these forms have been recorded. Verb stems with mid tone seem to yield nouns with high-low falling tone in Takum and high in Wukari. Verb stems with low tone perhaps yield nouns with mid-low falling tone in Takum and mid in Wukari. For example:

Takum	Wukari	
/ŋgô/; /kù ŋgò ŋgô/	/ŋgó/: /kù ŋgò ŋgó/	'anger': he is angry'
/nâ/; /kù nà nâ/	/ná/; /kù nà ná/	'sleeping'; 'he slept'
/vî/; /kù vi̍ vî/	/vyí/; /kù vyi̍ vyí/	'theft';'he stole'

Compare T /kù ŋgò á ŋgô mbá/ 'he is not angry'. If the construction were verb-verb, /à/ (which is a recapitulating form of the subject pronoun) would come after the second element instead of before it. Only a noun object follows a recapitulating pronoun.

2.2. Compounds and compound-like phrases are formed in a few cases from a noun stem plus a verb stem, indicating objects related to actions. Far more commonly, compounds of two nouns (including stem plus suffix in Takum) are found. The first is the head, the second the modifier. The following types occur:

2.2.1. Noun plus verb. In most cases, at least, the verb stem is known from other uses; in some cases it shows the tone change that would make it a noun by itself. The noun is /bù̍/, which elsewhere indicates possession; there is an alternant /bi̍/ in one form, but it is probably the same morpheme. The following are all of the forms of this type recorded:

Takum	Wukari	
/bù̍dyi̍/	/bù̍dyù̍/	'food' (other than meat?): cf. /dyi̍/ 'eat' (used of foods that are not tough)
/bù̍sŏ̂/	(/àwi̍/)	'animal, meat'; cf. T /sŏ̍/, W /tswă̍/ 'eat' (used of tough foods such as meat)
/bù̍sò/	/bù̍tsò/	'work'; perhaps cf. T /sà/, W /tsà/ 'do'
/bi̍nâ/	(/àgúdú/)	'bed'; cf. /nà/ 'lie down'
/bù̍sum/	(/bákì̍ndò/)	'fetish' (perhaps the same type)
/bù̍sukú/	(/ayŏ̍/)	'snake' (possibly the same type)

2.2.2. Noun plus noun, in which at least one stem is bound:

Takum	Wukari	
/wu̍wa/		'woman'; cf. /wa/ 'wife'
/wu̍nu/		'man'; cf. /nu/ 'husband'
/wu̍dyi/	/wi̍dyi/	'buffalo'
/wu̍yī̍/	/wī̍yī̍/	'elephant'[20]
(/dŭgbari/)	/wi̍dyĕ/	'hippopotamus'
/zyĕkuru/	/zĕku/	'lion'; cf. T /kuru/, W /åku/ 'chief'
/dyibà/	/dyebu̍/	'leaf'; cf. T /bà/, W /bu̍/ 'thing'[21]
/sŏ̍båra/	/sŭ̍bė/	'upper leg'; cf. T /båra/, W /åbė/ 'foot, leg'

2.2.3. Noun plus noun, in which both stems are free. In Takum, most of these forms use a stem as the first element, but the same stem is used with a suffix to form a noun by itself. In a few forms, however, the second element is a stem form. For example:

Takum	Wukari	
/kunubė/		'knee'; cf. /kúnú/ 'joint'; T/båra/, W /åbė/ 'foot, leg'
/kúnúvo/		'elbow'; cf. T /vo/, W /åvo/ 'hand, arm'
/syī̍tåna/	?	'roof'; cf. T /syi̍na/ 'top, head'; /tåna/ 'house'
/kyĕ kuna/	/kyĕ kwī/	'chicken egg'; cf. T /kyana/, W /kyĕ/ 'egg'

2.3. In Takum, a few phrases of a peculiar agglutinative type have been recorded. The same type of phrase may occur in Wukari, but is not recorded. For example:

/fi pã pere/ 'leopard'; literally 'leopard-catch-man',
cf. W /åfyi/ 'leopard'

/pere yu/ or /kuru yu/ 'blacksmith'; literally 'person-forge' and 'chief-forge'

But other names for persons engaged in specific activities are expressed by subordinate constructions, for which see 2.7 below.

2.4. A series of nouns may be joined by the verb stem /bå/ 'be with', corresponding to English 'and'. For example:

T: /bína bå duŋa/, W: /åbyí bå `dŭ/ 'goats and sheep'

T: /yi̍na bå bana/, W: /åhyi̍ bå bã/ 'sticks and stones'

In connection with the verbal character of /bå/ and the general absence of constructions, it may be observed that other English conjunctions are expressed in other ways also. Note, for example, the following sentence recorded in Takum: / å syi̍ zà re, å syi̍ súra re, ú yá m/ 'if it is guinea corn, if it is yams, you give me'; i.e., 'give me either guinea corn or yams'.

2.5. It is probable that many appositional constructions may be used, but the only type recorded is title plus proper name, as the following in Takum: /kuru ibiráhim/ 'chief Abraham'.

2.6. Possessive phrases may be divided into those with a pronoun possessor and those with a noun possessor.

2.6.1. There is only one set of possessive pronouns recorded in Wukari, but two in Takum. Of these, the commoner set is related in all but one form to the noun /bu̍/ used before a noun possessor. The following examples give the common forms for Takum and the only forms for Wukari:

Takum	Wukari	
/be ḿ/	/a̍be m̂/	'my money'
/be bú/	/a̍be û/	'your (s.) money'
/be bá/	/a̍be à/	'his (her) money'
/be bí/	/a̍be ì/	'our money'
/be bu̍ ní/	/a̍be nì/	'your (pl.) money'
/be bu̍ bé/	/a̍be bè/	'their money'

It has already been noted in 1.9.2. that the falling tones in the Wukari forms occur only in final position. When another word follows, the pronouns have their corresponding level tones. In the Wukari forms, these possessives correspond to the tones of the pronoun stems, which are low (!) in the first two cases and mid in the others. In the Takum possessives, all tones are high.

The less common set of possessive pronouns in Takum resembles the Wukari forms above except that all forms have high tone. These forms are used after only a few nouns.

The nouns seem to indicate a close social relationship, but apparently with an added element of respect. The nouns which take these pronouns are: /tá/ 'father', /ye/ 'mother', /nu/ 'husband', /wa/ 'wife', /zo/ 'friend', /wūza/ 'brother or sister', and perhaps a few others. With these should be compared the more usual /títá/ 'father' (/títá bá/ 'his father'), /nǎ/ 'mother' (/nǎ bủ bé/ 'their mother'), and the common /syò/ 'older brother' /syò bú/ 'your older brother'. An idea of the connotative difference between these sets can be seen from the fact that /títá bí/ 'our father' is usually used, but that Christians invariably insist on /tá í/ 'our Father' in reference to God. The complete set of these less common Takum pronouns is as follows:

/zo ḿ/	'my friend'	/zo í/	'our friend(s)'
/zo ú/	'your (s.) friend'	/zo ní/	'your (pl.) friend(s)'
/zo ú/	'his (her) friend'	/zo bé/	'their friend(s)'

2.6.2. A noun possessor is usually expressed by /bả/ preceding the possessor noun. In some phrases, apparently those that express the closer relationship (including some special relationships), /bủ/ may sometimes be omitted. There is no evidence that the use of /bủ/ is awkward in any case, however. It appears to be omitted somewhat more frequently in Wukari than in Takum. Examples of possessive phrases with noun possessor:

Takum	Wukari	
/tảna bủ títá ḿ/	/ảtả̍ bủ tả m̂/	'my father's house'[22]
/wũza bủ pere ní/	/wũza bủ pa rá/	'the man's brother'[23]
/fủna bủ kyȅ/	?	'the midst of walking, while walking'
/bảra bủ wủdyi̍/	/ảbo bủ wảdyi̍/	'feet (or tracks) of a buffalo'
/bủsō̂ wủdyi̍/	?	'buffalo meat'
/fúra tì/	/afí ti̍/	'market place'
/yãkẽ (bủ) tảna/	/yãkẽ (bủ) tả̍/	'the back of the house'
/bi̍ra tóra/	?	'place of traps, where traps are set'[24]
/yô ka/	--	'in town'[25]

2.7. Nouns are used directly before numerals and numeral-like words:

Takum	Wukari	
/pere ˊpina/	/ảpa ˊpyĩna	'two people'
/pere ˊpáná/	/ảpa ˊpáná/	'how many people?'
/súra tété/	/ảsí kátá/	'all the yams'
/súra títî/	/ảsí títí/	'a few yams'

The form /títî (W /títí/) must be classed with the numerals, even though it is often used with more of an "adjectival" meaning: T /wũ títî/ 'a small child'. No other word with an attributive force is used directly after a noun. On the other hand, numerals and similar words cannot be classed as a form of nouns used in noun-noun phrases, since they would be the only nouns that never follow /bù/.

2.8. Several types of attributives are used after nouns, introduced by the element /a/. In Wukari the form /wa/ is sometimes used after a noun. In both dialects, constructions of this type may occur initially, and in that position Wukari always has /wa/ and Takum sometimes does. The details of these attributive constructions must be described in terms of verbs, so the entire construction is discussed in 4 below.

2.9. Wukari has no plural formation that applies to nouns in general, although a few nouns have suppletive plurals or other corresponding forms. These correspond to irregular forms in Takum also. They are:

Takum	Wukari	
/pere: pu má/	/a̍pa: a̍pa dyúkũ/	'person: people'
/wũ (títî: yi̍ ká/	/a̍wũ (títí): zye̍zyẽ/	'(small) child: children'

For other nouns, Takum uses /ká/ after the singular to form a sort of plural -- more accurately, a distributive. That this is a separate word to be classed with numerals (see 2.7 above) is obvious from its use in the phrase /ká zu̍/ 'some (of them)'. The following are Takum distributives:

/bína ka/	'goats'	/bê ká/	'dogs'
/karạ ka/	'axes'	/ne ká/	'hoes'

A possessive pronoun is used between the noun and /ká/ in regular forms; in irregular forms, it is used after /ká/, and then /ká/ is repeated:

/wũza á ká/	'his brothers'
/kuna bá ká/	'his chickens'
but /yɨ̀ ká bú ká/	'your children'

In Wukari, a plural implication is often present in the verb /hò/, meaning something like 'do to completion, affect every object':

/hwà hò byɨ́/	'buy up goats, buy the goats'
/za hò bã/	'sweep up (all) the stones'

The form /hó/ after a noun, with an apparent plural significance, is probably derived from this verb; this is recorded only in forms with a type of demonstrative idea. E.g. (agàin Wukari only):

/àbá hó rá/	'those dogs, the dogs'
/àtɨsyè hó rá/	'(all) those baskets'

2.10. In Takum, any noun or noun phrase can be made definite by the addition of /ní/ at the end. The corresponding idea in Wukari has not been as specifically established, but it seems to be expressed by /rá/; however, in some attempts to confirm this, constructions of noun plus /rá/ were either rejected or misunderstood by the informant. These morphemes are used in demonstrative constructions of the attributive type, some of which contain locative words. The following examples outline about all that is known of these constructions:

Takum	Wukari	
/pere ní/	/ȧpa a hṹ rã́/	'the person, that person'
/bà ȧ syi̍ ní/	/abu̇ a ká rá/	'this thing'
/pu ká ní/	/ȧpa dyúkũ a hṹ rã́/	'the people, these people'
/tóra ƀá a ʼna ku̇ tȯ ní/	?	'his trap which he had set the day before'
/pere a sẽ duŋa ní/	?	'the person who owns the sheep'

Note that the Wukari /rá/ has the alternant /rã́/ after a nasalised syllable. The last two phrases are from texts recorded at Takum, and there are several more of the same type.

In Takum, /ní/ is also used in a construction beginning with an independent or emphatic pronoun form, followed by a noun and then /ní/. The pronoun-noun construction is a sort of apposition, 'he-person' and so on. However, the noteworthy point about this construction is that it is used in stories very commonly at the beginning of sentences, with reference to something previously spoken of. There seem to be no words commonly used to introduce new sentences, like English 'then, so, and, but, and then, well', and similar words in many other languages. This construction is frequently used where we would use such a word. For example, from Takum:

/ákù pere ní kù gà nà kí dyina/ literally: 'He the person he lay down on ground.' In context: 'Then he lay down on the ground.' Or, 'So ...'

/ábè kuna bê ká ní bè dù tété bè ká̀ kù/ 'Then the people of Kúnabe ("Dog Mountain"?) [they] all rose and [they] drove him away.'[26]

3. Verbs, Verb Phrases, and Pronouns.

3.0. A verb stem is a stem which may be used with the bound morpheme /rì/ before it, or /rà/ after it, or with certain other bound morphemes described in this section. A verb phrase is a series of two or more verb stems with a single subject. A verbal construction is the use of a verb stem or phrase with one or more bound morphemes which may be termed "aspect particles". A verbal sentence is a verbal construction used as a command or used with a subject, noun or pronoun. It is convenient to dovetail the description of pronouns with that of verbs, since pronoun forms other than possessives (for which see 2.6 above) are used almost exclusively with verbs.

3.1. Independent, subject, and object pronouns are basic to several verbal constructions, and to other pronoun forms to be introduced later.

3.1.1. Independent pronouns may be used in isolation with an emphatic demonstrative force. They may also be used before verbs as emphatic subjects. For the use of at least two of them before nouns, see 2.10 above. The following forms are identical for the two dialects in general. However, one Wukari informant usually says /gù/ for /kù/ in rapid speech;

he also substitutes /g/ for /k/ in many other common words such as locatives and adverbs.

	Independent	Subject		Independent	Subject
1.s.	/ám/	/m/	1.pl.	/ái̍/	/i̍/
2.s.	/áu/	/u/	2.pl.	/áni̍/	/ni̍/
3.s.	/áku̍/	/ku̍/	3.pl.	/ábe̍/	/be̍/

These subject pronouns are used before verb stems except as specified for some aspects below. The third person pronouns may be used after a noun subject for emphasis or clarity.

3.1.2. Object pronouns are used after verb stems, as noun subjects also are. They are identical in form with the subject pronouns except that in Wukari mid tone is replaced by mid to low falling (/kù, ì, nì, bè/) at the end of a sentence. Before an object pronoun with low tone (/m, u/), mid tone in a verb stem changes to high. For example:

Takum	Wukari	
/ya̍ ku̍/	/yi̍ kù/	'give (it) to him'
/yá m/	/yí m/	'give (it) to me'
/sa̍ za̍ be̍/	/tsa̍ za bè/	'help them'
/ku̍ sa̍ zá u?/	/ku̍ tsa zá u?/	'Did he help you?'

3.1.3. Verbs that usually take an object are sometimes used without an object where the third person singluar pronoun object might be expected; the translation 'it' is usually required:

	Takum	Wukari	
	/ze bi̍/	/nde bi̍/	'bring it'; lit., 'take come'
cf.	/ze zape bi̍/	/nde dyape bi̍/	'bring water'
	/yá m/	/yí m/	'give it to me'
cf.	/yá m fyekẽ/	/yí m fyekẽ/	'give me some peanots'

3.1.4. As illustrated in the last sentence above, a pronoun object may be used before a noun object. However, this is common only when the noun object is a single word. The following construction is used for longer objects:

Takum	Wukari	
/ze kúna ´pina yá m/	/nde kwí pyina yí m/	'give me two knives'

3.2. Verb stems appear to be monosyllabic in all cases except for /víni̍/ 'be all gone, finish'. In Takum the form /vín da̍/ 'finished, all gone' is a contraction of /víni̍ ra̍/; cf. Wukari /víni̍ rá̍/ or sometimes /víí̍ rá̍/. In some verb phrases (sequences of two or more stems) it is not possible to recognise the separate syllables as independent stems. However, with the limited vocabulary available at present, it is not safe to assume that any of these are stems of two syllables. It is assumed that they are phrases consisting of mono-syllabic stems.

3.2.1. Independent stems, as well as stems in phrases, are recorded only with low tone or mid tone where there is a variety of constructions in which to test the tone. However, there are a few problems and tone changes.

3.2.2. There is a stem /ki̍/ meaning 'be located at'. This is used by itself in Wukari, but only after other verbs in Takum. In Takum, the vowel of this stem is /i/ before /Cy/ and in most cases before /Ci, Ce/; the vowel is /u/ before consonants followed by other vowels, and before /Cw, p, b, f, m, w/ followed by /i/ or /e/. In Takum, the tone of this stem is always high. In Wukari, it is sometimes high; apparently it is mid before high tone, but high before other tones. Examples of this stem are as follows:

Takum	Wukari	
/ákè syi̍ kú makã./	/ákè ki̍ hű./	'What is there?; What is that?'
/kù syi̍ kí yô ka./	/kù kí fi̍ ka./	'He is in town.'
/kù syi̍ kí ni̍./	/kù kí `ni̍./	'Where is he?'

In Takum, this stem combines with two elements to form the words /kéré/ 'here' (cf. W /kí `rè/) and /kóò/ 'there' (W /tiri̍/?). This stem, especially in these combinations, is used in Takum in many constructions in which Wukari does not use it. For example, T /kù yà kí ys ka/, W /kù yà fi̍ ka/ 'he went to town'.

3.2.3. In Wukari, other stems with mid tone also change their tone to high in some constructions, only before objects. The conditions under which this change takes place have not been fully worked out. For example:

Takuk	Wukari	
/u ri̍ ya̍ kí ní./	/u ri̍ yá `ni̍./	'Where are you going?'
/ku̍ ri̍ ya̍ kí yê ka./	/ku̍ ri̍ yá fi̍ ka./	'He's going into town.'
/i̍ ri̍ ya̍ kí ta̍na./	/i ri̍ yá ndo̍./	'We're going home.'
cf. /í ya̍ kí ta̍na./	/í ya̍ ndo̍./	'Let's go home.'
/bi̍ kéré./	/bí `re̍./ or /bi̍ kí ré./	'Come here!'

3.3. The following two types of verb phrases occur:

3.3.1. Open phrases are those in which the constituent stems may be separated by an object. The second stem is frequently a verb of motion. For example:

Takum	Wukari	
/ze bi̍./	/nde bi̍./	'Bring it.'
/ze zape a fīfã bi̍./	/nde dyape a se̍ pyu bi̍./	'Bring some hot water.'
/ku̍ so̍ súra ya̍./	/ku̍ tswã̍ sí ya̍./	'He carried away some yams.'
/ko̍ zape bi̍./	/ko̍ dyape bi̍./	'Bring some water.' ('dip water come')
/ya̍ pã be so̍na./	/ya̍ pã be --?/	'Go collect taxes.'

3.3.2. Closed phrases are those in which an object follows the entire phrase. For example:

Takum	Wukari	
/sa zá m/	/tsa za m/	'help me'
/ku̍ sa̍ bé m kúna./	/ku̍ tsa̍ bé m kwí./	'He spoiled my (lit., (for) me) knife.'
/ku̍ wã zu̍ be̍./	/ku̍ wã zu̍ bè./	'He saved them.'
/ku̍ wá̍ zu̍ kú ta̍na m̂./	/ku̍ wá̍ zu̍ ndo̍ m̂./	'He passed by my house.'
/su ké̍ ni̍kyô̍./	/tsuké̍ yá̍kyò̍./	'Close the door.'
/syi fo̍ títī./	/tyi̍ fo̍ títí./	'Wait a minute.'
/ku̍ ya̍ fo kí yô ka./	/ku̍ ya̍ fo fi̍ ka./	'He reached (went arrived-at) town.'

3.4. Constructions with verbs and verb phrases involve several aspects, one of which is missing in Wukari, and the corresponding idea expressed by a peri-phrastic combination. The basic affirmative aspects are as follows:

3.4.1. Completed action is expressed by the verb with no aspect particle:

Takum	Wukari	
/ku̍ bi̍ dyíná./		'He came today.'
/m ya̍ kí yô ka./	/m ya̍ fi̍ ka./	'I went to town.'
/be̍ hwé̍ súra./	/be̍ hwé̍ sí./	'They bought yams.'
/m bá u nù./	/m bá u nde./	'I called you [a call].'

/ku̍ syi̍ ba̍ zà./	/ku̍ ba̍ za̍./	'He has (is with) guinea corn.'[27]
/da fu̍ títi./	/ta ti̍ títí./	'A little is left; there are a few left; not quite.'[28]

3.4.2. Incomplete action is expressed by the aspect particle /ri̍/ before the verb. The Takum combination /m ri̍/ has the alternant /n di̍/ in Wukari.

Takum	Wukari	
/m ri̍ ya̍./	/n di̍ ya̍./	'I'm going.'
/su ri̍ ta̍./	/a̍tyu ri̍ ta̍./	'It is raining.'[29]
/m ri̍ syŏ̍ bu̍sõ̂./	/n di̍ tyŏ̍ wi̍./	'I want meat.'
/u ri̍ yã ʹke̍./		'What do you want?'[30]
/u ri̍ ga ra̍ ku̍ ri̍ bi̍?/		'Do you think he is coming?'[31]
/be̍ ri̍ sa̍ bu̍so̍./	/be̍ ri̍ tsa̍ bu̍tso̍./	'They're working.'
/be̍ ri̍ ya̍ ʹkyẽ./	/be̍ ri̍ yá kyẽ./	'They're going tomorrow.'
/ku̍ ri̍ ki̍ nde ka su̍./	/ku̍ ka mbya̍ ka ri̍ ku̍ n̅d̅e̅./	'He's crying again.'[32]

3.4.3. Takum has two aspects particles, used before the verb, indicating potential action. They are /á/ and /bá/. The difference between their meanings or connotations is not known. /á/ is more common, and indicates action that will, may, or can take place. Subject pronouns have their regular forms before /bá/, but the following alternants with /á/:

/má/	'I will, I can'	/yá/	'we will, we can'
/wá/	'you will, you can'	/ná/	'you will, you can'
/kwá/	'he will, he can'	/bá/	'they will, they can'

Examples of potential action in Takum are as follows:

/má bi̍./ or /m bá bi̍./	'I will come, I can come, I may come.'[33]
/kù dā̍ rà kwá bi̍./	'He said he would come.'
/ su á tà./	'It may rain, it will rain.'

In Wukari, futurity is expressed by a phrase with /bi̍/ 'come'; ability is expressed by the verb /ka/ after another verb. The following examples illustrate Wukari expressions corresponding to Takum's potential aspect:

/àtyu ri̍ bi̍ tà./ or /kù ri̍ bi̍ tà tyu./	'It's going to rain.'
/kù ri̍ bi̍ tsà bùtsò./	'He's going to (or coming to) work.'
/n di̍ bi̍ tswā̍ ka./	'I can (will be able to) lift it.'

3.4.4. All of the above aspects, but most commonly completed action, may be modified by the particle /rà/ after the verb, or after the verb plus its object. With the aspect of completed action, /rà/ indicates that the results of the actioncontinue up to the present. With the aspect of incomplete action, the force of /rà/ has not been accurately defined, but it is known to have something to do with the specific present. Perhaps it means something like 'still', 'already', or 'right now' as opposed to 'in the immediate future' (as 'he is about to go'). In Takum, /ra̍/ is recorded with potential aspect, but its force is not known. The following examples illustrate something of the range of its common usage; its force in distinction from constructions without it is discussed after these examples:

Takum	Wukari	
/tu̍kpa̍ wo̍m ra̍./	/tu̍kpa̍ wẽ̍ rã̍./	'The clothes are dry.'
/pa̍ra a syi̍ ní gbã ra̍./	/a̍pe a ká rá gbã rã̍./	'This pot is broken.'
/be̍ ya̍ ra̍./		'They are gone.'
/m kpõ tu̍kpa̍ vín da̍./	/m hũ tu̍kpa̍ víni̍ rã̍./	'I have finished ironing the clothes.'
/goŋgo byẽ̍ ra̍?/	/ayaba byẽ̍ rã̍?/	'Are the bananas ripe?'
/zape fã ra̍./	/dyape se̍ pyu ra̍./	'The water is hot.'
/súra vín da̍./	/así víni̍ rã̍./	'The yams are all gone.'
/ku̍ ka sẽ̍ bi̍ ra̍./		'He has come back.'

Note that in Wukari /ra̍/ has the alternant /rã̍/ after nasalized syllables.

On the surface, these sentences seem to be associated more with completed action than with a present state resulting from it. Superficially, one might conclude that this is a "perfect tense". However, note the distinctions between the simple construction of completed action and the same with /ra̍/ in the following; these examples are all from Takum only:

/ku̍ ví u kúna./	'He stole (or has stolen) a knife from you.'
/ku̍ ví u kúna ra̍./	'He's been stealing knives from you (and probably is still doing so).'
/su ta̍ kéré./	'It (has) rained here.'
/su ta̍ ra̍ kéré./	'It has been raining here (until very recently).'
/zape a syi̍ ní fã ra̍./	'This water is hot (has become hot and is still hot).'
/tu̍kpa̍ a syi̍ ní kye ra̍./	'This cloth is clean (has been washed and is clean).'
/tu̍kpa̍ a syi̍ ní sã./	'This cloth is fine (and has always been fine).'

That /ra̍/ has to do with the present situation rather than past or completed action is evident also from its use with the aspect of incomplete action, as in the following:

Takum	Wukari	
/ku̍ ri̍ sa̍ bu̍so̍ ra̍./	/ku̍ ri̍ tsa̍ bu̍tso̍ ra̍./	'He is working (still?, already?, even now?).
cf. /ku̍ ri̍ sa̍ bu̍só./	/ku̍ ri̍ tsa̍ bu̍tsó./	'He is working.' or 'He is about to work.'

/ku̍ ri̍ ya̍ ra̍./	'He is going (already on his way).'
cf. /ku̍ ri̍ ya̍./	'He is going.' or 'He's going to go.'
/m ri̍ ga ra̍ ku̍ ri̍ bi̍.//n di̍ .../	'I think he'll come.'

3.4.5. A conditional aspect is expressed by the particle /ma̍/ before the verb or before the incomplete aspect particle /ri̍/. The particle /ra̍/ may be used after the verb in these constructions. In Takum, there are two special combinations of pronouns with this particle: /ma̍/ 'if I, when I', and /wa̍/ 'if you, when you'. Compare for tone the combinations /má, wá/ with the particle of potential aspect. This conditional aspect is usded for expected action, where we often use 'when'. For example:

T: /ku̍ ma̍ bi̍ ra̍, dã yá m./	'When he comes, tell me.'
W: /ku̍ ma̍ bi̍ ra̍, dã yí m./	"
T: /iká ma̍ bi̍ ra̍, kwá sa̍ zá u./	'When Ika comes, he will help you.'
W: /agbú ma̍ bi̍ ra̍, ku̍ bi̍ tsa̍ zá u yo̍./	'When Agbu ...'
T: /m ma̍ sa̍ víni̍ a syi̍ ní,/	'When I finish this,'
W: /m ma̍ tsa̍ víni̍ a rá,/ or /m ma̍ tsa̍ mbya̍ a rá,/	"
T: /wa̍ ri̍ ga ra̍ kwá bi̍,/	'If you think he will come,'
W: /u ma̍ ri̍ ga ra̍ ku̍ ri̍ bi̍,/	"

3.4.6. Permissive or obligatory action is expressed by a change of tone in the subject pronoun preceding a verb. All pronouns have high tone: /ḿ, ú, kú, í, ní, bé/. In this construction, the third person pronoun must be used after a noun subject. This construction is also used after T /syŏ̍/, W /tyŏ̍/ 'want'; T /dă̍ yà (pere zŭ̍)/, W /dă̍ yi̍ (pa zŭ̍)/ 'tell someone'; and similar constructions. The second person singular pronoun may be omitted for a command. For example:

Takum	Wukari	
/(ú) bi̍ kéré./	/(ú) bí `rè./	'come here!'
/ní bi̍ kéré./	/ní bí `rè./	'Come here!' (to several)
/í yà./		'Let's go!'
/m ri̍ syŏ̍ ḿ yà ´kyĕ./	/n di̍ tyŏ̍ ḿ yà kyĕ./	'I want to go tomorrow.'
/dă̍ yà kù kú bi̍./	/dă̍ yi̍ kù kú bi̍./	'Tell him to come.'
/m ri̍ syŏ̍ kú yà./	/n di̍ tyŏ̍ kú yà./	'I want him to go.'
/áŋgyú kú sà víni̍./	/àŋgyú kú tsà víni̍./	'Have Angyu finish it.'
?	/àtyidŏ̍ kú du ì./	'May God meet us.' (a farewell)

The common greeting /ḿ gbá gyè./ 'Hello!' probably belongs in this category also, although the stems after the pronoun (probably verb-object) are not known from other uses.

3.5. All aspects except the permissive form their negatives in the same way, so that there are only two types of negative:

3.5.1. For aspects other than the permissive, there are two elements in the negative construction. The first is a recapitulation of the subject pronoun, which occurs immediately after the verb stem or closed phrase, and before an object. The form of this pronoun is /á/ for the third person singular (compare the possessive forms), and the same as the subject pronoun but with high tone in other cases; all the forms are: /ḿ, ú, á, í, ní, bé/. The second element in the negative construction is /mbá/ (or sometimes /aná/ in Takum only) at the end of the sentence, after every other element in the sentence. The following examples illustrate negatives of the various aspects:

Takum	Wukari	
/m ya̍ ḿ mbá./		'I didn't go.'
/u ya̍ ú mbá?/		'Didn't you go?'
/ku̍ bi̍ á mbá./		'He didn't come.'
/m kpõ víni̍ ḿ tu̍kpa̍ ra̍ mbá./	/m hũ víni̍ ḿ tu̍kpa̍ ra̍ mbá./	'I haven't finished ironing the clothes.'
/bu̍dyi̍ sa̍ á ra̍ mbá./	/bu̍dyu̍ tsa̍ á ra̍ mbá./	'The food isn't ready.'
/be̍ ri̍ bi̍ bé mbá./		'They aren't coming.'

/ni̍ ri̍ sả ní bủsỏ mbá./	/ni̍ ri̍ tsả ní bủtsỏ mbá./	'You (*pl.*) aren't working.'
/yá sả í bủsỏ mbá./	/i̍ ri̍ bi̍ tsả í bủtsỏ mbá./	'We aren't going to work.'34

The following are from Takum only:

/bẻ kả̍ kủ bé dã rả bá hwả bé be sỏna mbá./ 'They drove him away and said (*or* so as to say) they would not pay the tax money.'

/bẻ me azủ̍ a bá ji̍ fo bé puká fíkyú bả kana mbá./ 'They saw that they would not defeat the people of Fikyu in war.'

/wũ ní sả á yúnu ʻpina aná, kủ wủ ru./ 'The child did not live two days (*or* more than a few days, *or* long) [before] he died.'

As in the last sentence, all Takum negatives may end in /aná/. This seems to be somewhat more emphatic, as may be judged also from its used in the negative permissive discussed below.

3.5.2. The negative permissive or obligatory always ends in /mbá/ in Wukari. In Takum, it usually ends in /aná/, but /mbá/ is also possible. This construction has no recapitulating pronoun, but /ká/ is used before the verb:

Takum	Wukari	
/(ú) ká yả aná./	/(ú) ká yả mbá./	'Don't go!'
/kú ká hwẻ̍ zà aná./	/kú ká hwẻ̍ zả mbá./	'He shouldn't buy guinea courn.'

3.6. In Takum, recapitulating pronouns such as those used in negative constructions (3.5.1 above) are also used in affirmative constructions rather frequently. In this use, the force of the recapitulating pronoun is not known. Wukari does not use this construction in any of the recorded material except for one sentence. In the following examples, the first sentence is identical in both dialects; the others are from Takum only.

/m yả ḿ rả./	'Goodbye!' (lit., 'I am gone')
/bẻ byẽ̍ bé rả./	'They are ripe.'
/bẻ ŋa bẻ rả./	'They have refused.'
/bẻ ka sǒ̍ yả bé kí yô ka tíri̍./	'They wont back to the town again.'
/kủ ka sǒ̍ bi̍ á bà bá kí tảna./	'He returned to his affairs at home.'

3.7. Material recorded at Takum presents a few other problems in verbal constructions which it has not been possible to analyze and describe completely. These problems differ from the constructions described above in an important respect. In all of the constructions above, it has been possible to use the construction in new situations and get the expected translation or reaction from the informant. In these constructions, this has not been possible. Apparently the morphemes involved are limited to use with a few verb stems, and only the recording of texts over a longer period of time could give a clue to just what is involved. A smaller amount of material recorded at Wukari yields one other problem.

3.7.1. In Takum, a morpheme /re/ is recorded after a few verb stems. /ru/ is also recorded; this may be an alternant of the same morpheme. Examples are /ku̍ sò̍ ru ku̍/ 'he picked it up (and put it on his head)'; /ku̍ ze re zò/ 'he looked up (_lit_., picked up eyes)'; /ku̍ wu̍ ru/ 'he died'. A possible interpretation of this is that if indicates simulfactive action, action that takes place only once. But the evidence is too meager to confirm this.

3.7.2. One or more morphemes with the form /ra̍/, not used as the aspect particle described in 3.4.4 above, remain unexplained. In the last examples below, the phrase /da̍ ra̍/ is unexplained, but it apparently introduces a direct quotation. Examples are (Takum only):

/dyina bú ra̍ ˊko̍./	'What is your name?' (/ra̍/ 'is'?)
/bi̍ra ra̍ kú kye ní/	'when morning dawned'
/ku̍ ra̍ kú kpa̍ syi̍ ya̍ títi̍ núma./	'(Then?) he went forward just a little.'
/ku̍ ra̍ kwá bi̍./	'He said he would come.'
(cf. /ku̍ dá̍ ra̍ kwá bi̍./ with the same meaning)	
/ku̍ dá̍ ya̍ kuru da̍ ra̍/	'He said to the chief,'

/ku̓ dȁ ya̍ be da̍ ra̍/ 'He said to them,'

When /ra̍/ is used after /dȁ/ 'say', the combination does not mean 'has been saying' (cf. 3.4.4 above), but simply 'said'. It is possible that this /ra̍/, as used in all the sentence above, refers to a report, a quotation, or secondhand information.

3.7.3. In Wukari, /na̍/ before a verb is used much like /ri̍/ (3.4.2 above). It is also used before /ri̍/. It may be the verb /na̍/ 'lie down'. For example (Wukari only): /ku̓ na̍ (ri̍) tsa̍ bu̓tso̍/ 'he is working'. It is fairly certain that this may be used only of action taking place at the moment, while /ri̍/ may be used for incompleted action about to begin.

4. Attributives.[35]

4.0. An attributive construction is anything that may be used after a noun with reference to the noun.

4.1. Demonstrative constructions introduced by /a/, and the morphemes /ní/ (Takum) and /rá/ (Wukari), are described in as much detail as is possible at present in 2.9 above.

4.2. The use of numerals with nouns is described in 2.7 above. The morphology of the numerals themselves concerns us now. The following list gives a sampling of the forms and constructions in common use:

Takum	Wukari	
/ázū̍/	/ázū̍/	'one'
/ápina/	/ápyīna/	'two'
/ásàrà/	/átsàrà/	'three'
/áyènà/	/áyē̍nà/	'four'
/ásōnà/	/átswā̍nà/	'five'
/ásyīdyī̍/	/átyīdyē̍/	'six'
/ásyīpī/	/atsūpyī/	'seven'
/ánini̍/	/átsūtsà/	'eight'
/átâni̍/	/atsūyō̍/	'nine'
/ádùp/	/ádzwè/	'ten'
/ádùp kpā́ zū̍/	/ádzwè wā́ ʼzū̍/	'eleven'

/ádi zŭ̍/	/ádi zŭ̍/	'twenty'
/ádi zŭ̍ kpắ pina/	/ádi zŭ̍ wã ´pyĩna/	'twenty-two'
/ádi zŭ̍ kpắ dùp/	/ádi zŭ̍ kya dzwe/	'thirty'
/ádi pere ´pina/	/ádi pa ´pyĩna/	'forty'
/ádi pere ´sàrà/	/ádi pa ´tsàrà/	'sixty'
/ádi pere ´yònà/	/ádi pa ´yĕ̍nà/	'eighty'
/ádi pere ´sònà/	/ádi pa ´tswànà/	'hundred'
/ádi pere ´dùp/	/ádi pa ´dzwè/	'two hundred'

Note the following features in this numeral system:

(1) The suffix /ra, na/ in 'two - five', with the same tone as the stem.

(2) The forms 'seven - nine' in Wukari but only 'seven' in Takum.

(3) The forms 'six' in both dialects.

(4) The prefix, which is usually dropped for 'two - nine' in counting in Wukari, and sometimes in Takum, and the vowel of which drops after a noun.

(5) The stem /di/ 'body' (cf. T /diri/ 'body') for 'twenty'. In multiples of twenty, the phrase T /di pere/, W /di pa/ 'body of a person'.

(6) The morphemes for addition in 'eleven, twenty-two, thirty'.

(7) In attributive use, both dialects seem to use /´zŭ̍zŭ̍/

frequently. There seems to be some condition under which this is used, but the condition has not been discovered.

(8) In Takum, the form /kusá (góro)/, literally 'a gourd-full of kola nuts', is used for 'one hundred' for some objects, and multiples are also used. However, this is not generally accepted in referring to several hundred people. In Wukari, /asyukú/ 'a bag(-full)' is used for 100, but not for other objects.

(9) The form /zŭ̍/, 'one' without its prefix, is used after nouns in the meaning 'some, any, a certain'.

4.3. Ordinals are a type of attributive clause described in 4.6 below; for the sake of convenience, they are mentioned separately here. They are introduced by /a/ (in slow speech /wa/ in Wukari), followed by a verb and a numeral. In Takum, 'first' is usually expressed in a different way; the corresponding form is not recorded in Wukari. For example:

Takum	Wukari	
/a kå pyẽ	?	'first', lit. 'what is before'
/a kŏ̍ ´pina/	/wa hwå ´pyĩna/	'second'
/a kŏ̍ ´sårå/	/wa hwå ´tsårå/	'third'

In Takum, the forms /a tė kã kóò/ 'second' and /a te kã kóò/ 'third' are also recorded when only three objects are in question. They are basically more like English 'the other' and 'the next'.

4.4. All attributives can be classed either as numerals (including numeral-like expressions for 'all, a little, a lot, some, how many?'), attributives introduced by /a/ (for which see the following), or the other constructions described in 2 above. The purpose of this statement is to exclude a class of words which might be called "adjectives". Such a class is not needed for Jukun. It is true that there is a residue of expressions not completely explained, like Takum /wùnu ya kù/ 'an old man'; it is likely that this is either an appositional construction or an agglutinative noun-verb construction. There are not enough such constructions to warrant setting up a class of adjectives. Among the attributive constructions discussed below, there are a few that use other unanalyzed expressions, like Takum /fi a kwaki/, Wukari /åfi akwakyi/ 'a big leopard', and Takum /bà a da númá/ 'a bad thing'. It is probable that these forms are verbs or verb phrases, fitting into the constructions described below.

4.5. All other attributives are introduced by /a/ and contain a verb stem. The following types may be distinguished:

4.5.1. Attributives containing a reduplicated verb stem. These have been recorded in quantity only in Takum, but there is evidence that the construction is about the same in Wukari, and if anything more common. In a few of the stems there is a vowel change in the first syllable of the reduplicated form. There is also a regular distinction in the tone of the reduplicated form depending on whether the verb stem is transitive (ordinarily takes an object) or intransitive. The following statements indicate these tones:

Stem low: Reduplicated form intransitive low-low, transitive rising-midfalling.

Stem mid: Reduplicated form intransitive mid-mid, transitive high-mid.

Examples of these forms in Takum are as follows:

Stem low, intransitive:

/fã/ 'be hot';	/zape a fĭfã/	'hot water'
/kye/ 'be clean';	/tùkpà a kikye/	'clean cloth'
/mbu/ 'be white';	/tùkpà a mbùmbu/	'white cloth'
/tu/ 'be difficult';	/bùsò a tutù/	'difficult work'

Stem low, transitive:

/syi/ 'boil';	/zape a syĭsyì/	'boiled water'
/ki/ 'split';	/yìna a kĭkì/	'split wood'
/pẽ/ 'roll up';	/tùkpà a pĕpĕ/	'cloth that has been rolled up'
/wõ/ 'roast';	/bùsõ a wŏwõ/	'roasted meat'

Stem mid, intransitive:

/wo̍m/ 'be dry';	/yi̍na a wŏ̍wo̍m/	'dry wood'
/ŋgo̍/ 'be tough';	/bu̍sô a ŋgo̍ŋgo̍/	'tough meat'

Stem mid, transitive:

/hwa̍/ 'carve';	/yi̍na a hóhwa̍/	'a pointed stick'
/wa̍/ 'drink';	/zape a wáwa̍/	'drinking water'
/pĕ̍/ 'expose to dry';	/tu̍kpa̍ a pépĕ̍/	'clothes on the line'
/mbya̍/ 'make, fix';	/bà a mbímbya̍/	'something repaired; a manufacture'

When these forms are negated, the intransitives are used in their stem form alone (i.e., as regular verbs). But the transitives are used in their reduplicated form. For example:

/zape a fã́ á mbá/	'water that is not hot'
/yi̍na a wo̍m ra̍ ą́ mbá/	'wood that has not dried'
/yi̍na a kĭkì á mbá/	'wood that is not split'
/tu̍kpa̍ a pépĕ̍ á mbá/	'clothes that have not been hung out'[36]

4.5.2. Attributives with antecedent subject. These are regular verbal constructions without a subject after /a/. For example:

Takum	Wukari	
/pere a bi̍ kéré ní/	/a̍pa a bí `re̍ (rá?)/	'the man who come here'

/pere a sẽ duŋa ní/	?	'the man who owns the sheep'
(/zape a fĩfã/)	/ăyape a sė pyu/	'hot water' (W: water which touched fire)
(Takum only):	/yỉna ká a syỉ kủ kí diri ní/	'the wounds which were [on him] on his body'

In the following from Takum, the subject is expressed in pronoun form, probably for emphasis or clarity:

/bủsỗ a kủ kí tóra ní/	'the animal which (it) was in the trap'

4.5.3. Attributives with antecedent object, including expressions of place and time. These are recorded primarily in Takum, but the Wukari equivalents are undoubtedly very similar in construction. In some of the recorded forms the object is recapitulated in an object pronoun; in others it is not. Expressions of place are recapitulated by /kóỏ/ 'there' in all recorded forms. Expressions of time are not recapitulated in the few recorded forms. The following examples are from Takum only:

/tóra a kủ tỏ ní/	'the trap he had set'
/pere a fi pã kủ ní/	'the person whom the leopard had caught (him)'
/mảna a be yủ kủ ní/	'the salt which they gave him'

/ma̍na a be̍ ya̍ kuru fíkyú ní/	'the salt which they gave the chief of Fikyu'
/bi̍ra zú̍ a nu á syi̍ kóò ní/	'the (a certain) place where her husband was (there)'
/bi̍ra a be̍ to̍ zíka ní/	'the place where they had set the nets'
/bi̍ra a wűza bu̍ bé to̍ zíka kóò ní/	'the place where their brother had set the net (there)'
/taba zú̍ a ká ne̍ syi̍ kóò/	'a platform [on] which he could climb [and] sit (there)'
/yúnu a m bi̍ kéré (ní)/	'the time (or day) I came here'
/yúnu mba̍ ra̍ a bá hwa̍ be so̍na/	'the time came when they should pay taxes'
/sona áku̍ a wa̍ zu̍ ya̍ a syi̍ ní/ (or /sona a wa̍ zu̍ ní/	'last month (that month which passed by this)'
/dyì a wa̍ zu̍ ní/	'last year'
/dyì a ri̍ bi̍ ní/	'next year (the year which is coming)'

4.5.4. Attributives may be used without an expressed antecedent; note the function of the last two examples below; these are also from Takum only:

/a sě ta̍na/	'house-owner, family head'
/a zo tu̍kpa̍/	'weaver of cloth'

/(azŭ̍) a kuru ku̍ fo̍ númá ní/	'as soon as the chief heard (it)'
/(azŭ̍) a ku̍ fo kí ta̍na ní/	'when she reached home'

5. Miscellaneous Morphemes and Constructions.

5.0. In this section will be discussed adverbs, a few morphemes which appear to be unique in that they do not belong to larger classes, and some miscellaneous constructions which it has not been convenient to fit into the previous sections.

5.1. A class of words which may be called adverbs includes only forms which indicate time and manner. Words indicating place may be classed as nouns, and most of them are used in all nominal constructions. These adverbs usually occur at the end of a sentence, with only the negative element /mbá/ following them. It appears that adverbs indicating specific time may also be used at the beginning of a sentence, but in this position at least two of them have special meanings. The following are examples of adverbs:

T: /kủ bi̍ dyíná (ní)/, W /kủ bi dyíná/	'he came today'
T: /kủ bi̍ ʹna/, W /kủ bí na/	'he came yesterday'
T: /tóra a ʹna kủ tỏ ní/	'the trap which he had set the day before'
T: /kủ ri̍ bi̍ ʹkyẽ, W /kủ ri̍ bí kyẽ/	'he's coming tomorrow'

T: /ákẽ pu ká fíkyú tété bá ji̍ mảna ní, ákẽ bé wủ rả./	'the people of Fikyu would all have eaten the salt, and would have died.'
T: /ándi ní bẻ yả pã duŋa` bủ pere zủ/	'the day before yesterday they went and caught a certain man's sheep'
T: /ándi (wả)/	'once upon a time'
T: /azu̍ a kủ fỏ númá ní/	'as soon as he heard it' (/númá/ is 'just, only, exactly, very')
T: /áfunủ kủ ka sẻ bi̍/	'Then (afterwards) he came back'
T: /kủ tủ tủkpả tẽ/	'He only washed the clothes'
T: /kủ du sye yả mỏ mỏ mỏ mỏ/	'He ran away as fast as his legs could carry him'
T: /yả sả bủsỏ tamá tamá/	'Get to work this minute!'
T: /kủ rí bi̍ tamá (ní)/, W: /kủ ri̍ bi̍ tamá/	'He's coming right away'

The following is a common phrase beginning with the verb /kí/; it is frequently used in stories, but it is not an adverb:

T: /kí yãkẽ bù a syi̍ ní/, W: /kí yãkẽ bủ a rá/ 'then, afterwards, after this'

The expression for 'never' must be considered a verb because of its position in relation to the recapitulating pronoun of the negative construction:

T: /m me fó ḿ wủyi̍ rả mbá/ 'I have never seen an elephant'

5.2. In the following sentences, note the use of T /di dyíra/, W /di dyí/; T /a dyí/, W /a dyí, dyi dyí/; and T /va/ (a verb):

T: /di dyíra kủ bi̍/, W /di dyí kủ bi̍/ 'because (lit., body of matter) he came'

T: /sả zá m a dyí ḿ sŏ sóna ní/ 'help me (that I) lift this load'

W: /tsả zá m yỏ dyi dyí (or a dyí)
ḿ tswa̍ tswế rấ/ 'help me (that I) lift this load'

T: /va azủ a i̍ syi̍ kéré ní/ 'since when (or as long as) we have been here'

Similarly, most constructions corresponding to English conjunctions can readily be analyzed in terms of Jukun noun and verb constructions. Some such constructions may not yield to immediate analysis without a fuller knowledge of vocabulary and usage, but it is quite clear on the basis of what is already known that Jukun has only five primary word classes: Noun, Verb, Pronoun, Numeral, Adverb.

5.3. The morpheme /á/ is used in both dialects before a noun to indicate identification: in both dialects /á tủkpả/ 'it is cloth', etc.

5.4. In Wukari only, high tone (undoubtedly from /á/) after a verb and before its object is used to express contrastive emphasis in reference to the object. For this construction, see 1.9.4 above. No comparable construction has been noted or elicited in Takum.

5.5. Both dialects have a construction indicating contrastive emphasis in reference to the subject. In Takum this is expressed by /áni/ after the verb or after a pronoun object, but before a noun object. In Wukari, /i/ is used after a verb in the recorded examples, but perhaps in the same constructions as Takum /áni/ throughout. For example:

T: /áni̍ bi̍ ˊni./, W: /ăkúni̍ bí i./	'Who came?'
T: /áni̍ bá m ni nù./	'Who called me?'
T: /áni̍ tủ ˊni tủkpả./	'Who washed the clothes?'
T: /ám bá u ni nù./	'It is I who called you.'
T: /fi ku ˊni kí tőra./	'It was a leopard that had fallen into the trap.'

It appears that the prefix of /áni/ drops completely, including tone, after an object pronoun with low tone. This is the only construction in which the prefix is known to drop.

5.6. In both dialects, /băni̍/ (or to be analyzed /ba ˊni̍/?) indicates negation of existence: 'there is none, he is not there, it does not exist'. This functions much like a verb: /tủkpả băni̍/ 'there is no cloth, the cloth isn't there.'.

CONCLUSION: It is not claimed that this description HAS ACCOUNTED for all Jukun morphemes and constructions, but that with few and minor modifications and additions it CAN ACCOUNT for everything essential to the structure of both of these dialects.

6. Takum Texts.

6.0. Texts were recorded only in Takum. These texts are given below with a fairly literal interlinear translation. In the translation, the word order is transposed for a few common constructions like those ending in /ní/ 'the' and negatives, and a few morphemes like recapitulating pronouns are not translated. In the text, dots under the line indicate a morpheme or construction that has not been definitely analyzed, and of which the transcription may be dubious. Foreign names not assimilated to the Takum phonemic system are italicized. Word spaces in the text are primarily for the purpose of fitting the translation into the same space. However, where possible long spaces indicate phrase boundaries as well.

6.1. The Conquest of Kunabe.

ándi wa̍ kuru ibiráhim syi̍ kí yô kuru bá ní. yúnu
Long ago chief Abraham is in his chieftaincy. Time

mba̍ ra̍ bá hwa̍ be so̍na. áku̍ kuru ibiráhim ku̍ sŏ̍
came (") they-will pay taxes. So chief Abraham he sent

sŏkuru bá zŭ̍ di dyíra kí ya̍ pã be so̍na kí kunabè.
his officer a that he-should go collect taxes at kunabe.

ákủ sõkuru bá ní kủ pã gba yả kí kunabè. kủ dã̍ yả kuru
So his officer he took road went at Kunabe. He said to their

bủ bé rả, kurũ sṍ m dả rả ḿ bi̍ pã be sỏna.
chief "Chief sent me saying I-should come collect taxes".

kí yãkẽ bwà a syi̍ ní; ábẻ kunabè ká bẻ du tété bẻ kã̍
After this thing, Kunabe people the rose all the drove him

kủ bé dã̍ rả bá hwả bé be sỏna mbá. ákủ
away and-they said (")they-would not pay taxes. So the

sõkuru ní kủ ka sẽ̍ yả á kí tảna. kủ yả fo kí pyẽ
official he returned went to home. He went arrived at

bủ kuru ibiráhim kủ kẽ kí dyina. kủ na kuru
front of chief Abraham he knelt to ground. He greeted chief

ibiráhim kủ dã̍ yả kủ rả, syi̍di bú kú kpả syi̍ yả kí pyẽ.
Abraham he said to him "Your life may-it advance go ahead."

kí yãkẽ bwà a syi̍ ní, kủ dã ya kuru dả yả, kunabè ká bẻ ŋa
After this thing, he said to chief, "Kunabe people they have

bé rả, bá hwả bé be sỏna aná. azũ̍ a kuru ibiráhim kủ
rebelled, they will not pay taxes." When chief Abraham he

fò númá ní, kú̍ du ba̍ ŋgô kú̍ ba̍ ḳọ̍. pu ká bá ká, kú̍
heard just, he rose with anger he called his people, he

dá̍ ya̍ bé da̍ ra̍ bé ze zú̍ bú̍ ká kana. pu ká
said to them (") they-should take out things of war. People

tété be̍ ze zú̍ sò ba̍ tíka ba̍ kå̍fa̍ra ba̍ pánά.
all they took out spears and arrows and swords and shields.

kuru ibiráhim ba̍ be̍ bi̍ 'zú̍ kí kunabè. kú̍ sa̍
Chief Abraham and they came together at Kunabe. He did

syì rá ká nú̍ kaṇa ba̍ ábe kunabè ká. áfunú̍ kí
as-though he-will fight war with Kunabe people. Then after

yãḳẽ bwà a syi̍ ní, be̍ sye dyína be̍ ze nde ra̍ bá hwa̍
this thing, they had fear they agreed (") they-will pay

be so̍na. ákú̍ kuṛu ibiráhim ba̍ pu ká bá ká be̍ ka zè̍ ya̍
taxes. So chief Abraham and his people they returned went

kí yô ka tíri̍.
to town again.

6.2. LEOPARD KILLS KUNABE HUNTER, INJURES WIFE.

ándi wủnu kunabè zű kủ ze tőra bá a kwaki yả tỏ
Once a man of Kunabe he took his big trap went set in

kí yâ wűna. kủ ka sȅ̍ bi̍ á bà bá kí tảna. bi̍ra
the bush. He returned came-to his affairs at home. Morning,

kye ḅẹ́ kủ du yả bȁ̍ tőra bá a ʼna kủ tỏ ní. kủ
he rose went inspected his trap which day-before he set. He

yả fo kí bira tőra a kủ tỏ ní. kủ me á tőra
went reached at place-of trap which he set. He did not see

mbá. asé, fi ku ʼni kí tőra. kủ yi á mbá.
trap. Well, leopard it was fell in trap. He did not know.

kí yãkȅ bwà a syi̍ ní, kủ ba kảra bủ bủsȏ a kủ kí
After this thing, he followed feet of animal which it is-in

tőra ní. kủ rả kű kpả syi̍ yả títī nűmá. fi pã pere
trap. He (") he advanced went a little just. Leopard-

du nẻ kủ tả kí dyina. kủ to kủ
catch-man rose climbed-on him threw on ground. He clawed him

káfi. kủ gả nả kủ ri̍ ke nde kủ ri̍ bả wűza
claws. He lay-down he was crying he was calling his

á ká nù. kí yãkẽ bwà a syi̍ ní, wa á fo̍ pã kyúra bá
brothers. After this thing, his wife heard-caught his voice

ku̍ du sye ya̍ fo kí bi̍ra zü̍ a nu á syi̍ kóo̍ ní.
she ran went reached at place which her husband is there.

ku̍ ya̍ me fi syi̍ kí syi̍na bu̍ nu á. ku̍ ya̍
She went saw leopard was on top of here husband. She went

te ku̍ ba̍ vo. fi pã kã
pushed him with hand. Leopard caught turned (i.e., in turn)

wa á bu̍ pere ní kí kúnúbe̍. tété bu̍ bé pina be̍ ri̍
his wife of the man by the knees. Both of them two they were

da̍ vâ. pu ká du sye bi̍ be̍ gbã̍ fi pã pere ní.
yelling. People ran came they killed the leopard-catch person.

kí yãkẽ bwà a syi̍ ní be̍ sõ̍ wu̍nu ní ba̍ wa á bi̍ kí ta̍na.
After this thing they carried the man and his wife came to home.

wũza bu̍ pere ní ya̍ ku̍ gã̍tí ku̍ tu̍ yi̍ma ká a syi̍
Brother of the man gave him medicine he washed the wounds which

ku̍ kí diri ní. áku̍ pere ní ku̍ gá na̍ kí dyina.
were-on him on the body. So the man he lay on the ground.

bi̍ra rá kú kye ní, kú wú wâ̤. wa á wam zú ʼni.
Place (')it dawned, he died death. But his wife lived.

wũza ká bú pere a fi pā kú ní bé sŏ̍
The brothers of the man whom leopard caught him they carried

fi̩ pā pere ní ze yá yá kuru áudu kí yô ka.
the leopard-catch-person took went to chief Audu in town.

6.3. "Dig a pitfall shallow, lest you fall in it yourself."

ándi kpăm kpăm azŭ̍ a Kute̍v ká be na̍ mé tiri kí
Once long ago when the Kutop people they lived on the

syi̍kana, tyámbá ká be̍ bi̍ di dyíra bé mu̍ kana
mountain-top, Chamba people they came that they fight war

ba̍ fíkyú ká. be̍ da̍ pò kana bú bé kí mbere
with Fikyu people. They pitched their camp of war at foot of

kuna fíkyú. ábe̍ tyámbá ká be̍ ba̍ pu ká fíkyú
mt. of Fikyu. The Chamba people they with people of Fikyu

nu̍ kana. be̍ nu̍ nu̍ nu̍, be̍ dyi fo
fought war. They fought fought fought, they did not defeat

bé fíkyú ká mbá, di dyíra pu̍ ká fíkyú
(lit., cat-reach) the Fikyu people, because people of Fikyu

syi̍ kí syi̍kunã. kí yãkĕ bwà a sŷi̍ ní be̍ me
were on the mountain-top. After this thing they saw

azŭ̍ a bá dyi̍ fo bé pu ká fíkyú ba̍ kana. ábe̍
that they-will not defeat people of Fikyu with war. So the

tyámbá ká ní be̍ ya̍ yã ma̍na bara ´so̍na̍,
Chamba people they went looked for salt five bags,

bè̍ ze yà̍ kuru fíkyú di dyíra bé bã vyˈŏ
they took gave-to chief of Fikyu that they bind friendship

bà̍ diri bù̍ bé. ákù̍ kuru fíkyú ní kù̍ pã mà̍na a
with each other. So the chief of Fikyu he received the salt

bè̍ yà̍ kù̍ ní. azˈŭ a fˈise fe ní; kù̍ yã pere
which they gave him. When night fell, he sought a person

a byˈĕ zɔ̀ zˈŭ kí yô bándu á ká. kù̍ ze bara mà̍na. ʼzˈŭ kù̍
who was clever in his troops. He took bag of salt one he

du yô fˈise. pere ní sˈŏ mà̍na ní te yà̍ bà̍
rose in the night. The man carried the salt descended went

kù̍ kí dyina. kù̍ ze mà̍na ní yà̍ we kí zāpe
with it down. He took the salt went poured in water

a wą́wà̍ bù̍ tyámbá ká ní. pere kù̍ ní ka sˈĕ nè̍
for-drinking of the Chamba people. The man returned climbed

yà̍ á bà bá kí kuna. kí yãkĕ a bˈira kye
went-to his things on the mountain. After when place dawned

ʼpˈŭpˈŭ ní, wa bù̍ kuru tyámbá ká ní kù̍ sˈŏ pà̍ra
in morning, wife of the chief of Chamba she carried pot

kù̍ yà̍ kú zape di dyíra kú sà̍ bù̍dyˈi kóɔ́ ʼpˈŭpˈŭ.
she went to the-water that she fix food with-it in-the-morning.

azű̍ a kủ fo kí tảna ní, kủ ze zape ní sả bủdyi̍ kóỏ.
When she reached at home, she took the water fixed food with-it.

pu ká a kí yô tảna bủ kuru be dyi̍ bủdyi̍ ní
The people who were in house of chief they ate the food

tété bủ bé bẻ wủ. ábẻ tyámbá ká a da fủ̍ tété bủ
all of them they died. The Chamba people who remained all of

bé bẻ sye du yả bà bủ bé. bẻ ri̍ ga rả pu ká
them they ran went-to their affairs. They thought the people

a kí kuna bá te bi̍ nủ
who were-on the mountain they-would descend come fight

dyi̍ bẻ. á di dyíra bwà a syi̍ ´ni a bẻ sye du ní,
consume them. It is the-reason-of this thing that they ran-away,

asé, kí yô bủ m'ana. a bẻ yả kuru fíkyú ní,
you-see, on inside of salt which they gave chief of Fikyu,

bẻ we kyana kí yô bá. ábẻ tyámbá ká ní
they poured poison at inside of-it. The Chamba people

bẻ ri̍ ga rả fíkyú ká ní, bẻ mả dyi̍ mảna ní,
they thought the Fikyu people, when they ate the salt,

bá wủ tété bủ bé. amá fíkyú ká ní bẻ ze
they-would die all of them. But the Fikyu people they took

ma̍na ká a da fŭ̍ ní ku fŏ ku̍ syi̍
the salt(s) which remained throw-away. Had-it-not-been

´di dyíra bu̍ pere a byẽ̍ zò ní aná, akyẽ pu ká fíkyú
because of the clever person, (would) people of Fikyu

tété bá ji̍ ma̍na ni, ákyẽ bé wu̍ ra̍.
all they-would have-eaten the salt, would they have died.

á di dyíra bwà a syi̍ ní syára bu̍
It is because of this thing (that it is said:) a hole of

bà a be̍be̍ bé ka̍ ku̍ kema. í me, ábe̍ tyámbá ká
evil thing they-should dig it shallow. See, the Chamba people

be̍ ri̍ syŏ̍ bé gbã̍ dyi sè bu̍ fíkyú,
they wanted to annihilate (kill-bury) tribe of Fikyu,

amá kì ní ka sĕ̍ kí syi̍na bu̍ bé. kuru bu̍ bé wu̍,
but the death returned on their head. Their chief died,

pu ká a da fŭ̍ be̍ sye du.
people who remained they ran-away.

6.4. The boy who died in the bush fire.

yúnu zù̍ ní yī̍ ká bi̍ká bè pù zíka bù bé
One time children of Bika they took-out their nets

di dyíra bé yà tó tò ádèdè bù ˊnunu. bè sǒ
that they go set season (?) of harvest (?). They carried

zíka bù bé nè yà kí syī̍kuna Lúpwé. á yī̍
their nets climbed went to mountain-top-of Lupwe. It was

ká títī ká ázò bù bé. bá syò băni̍ à
It was children small only (?) of them. Elders were-not

kí yô bù bé. kí yākē azū̍ a bè tò víni̍ zíka tété
in midst of them. After when they set finished nets all,

ká azū̍ kí yô bù bé ze piru tà kí yô wúna.
some in midst of them took fire threw in midst-of grass.

ká zū̍ bè syi̍ ri̍ kō̍ zíka. piru ri̍ dyi̍ wúna.
Some they were watching nets. Fire was eating grass.

bè rà bé me númá ní, wo du bà gbàma ze piru
They (") saw only, wind rose with strength took fire

yà dyē kú dō̍. yī̍ ká ní rà bè me númá ní, piru
went rose to top. The children (") they saw only, fire

fo kí bi̍ra a bė tȯ síka ní. yī̍ ká zū̍ kí
reached to place which-they set the nets. Children some in

yô bủ bé bė ngȧ pē zíka mȯ mȯ mȯ mȯ
midst of them they tried to-roll-up nets as-quickly-as-they-

bė du sye yȧ. bė ri̍ ga rạ̇ tété bụ̉ bé bė zu
could. They ran went. They thought all of them they had

kū́ nù bủ piru rȧ. asé, da fū̍ mȧ
escaped from-the mouth of the fire. Well, left (was?)

wū ʼzūzū̍ bẹ̇ yi bé mbá. azū̍ a wū ní kủ ngȧ ri̍ pē
one boy they did not know. When the boy he tried to-wind

zíka nū́má ní, piru pã zíka bá, vyē̍ piru du si̍ kē̍ kủ,
not just, fire caught his net, smoke met covered him,

wo ze piru bi̍ dȧ kủ kí dyina. piru sō̆ kủ. kí yākē̆
wind took fire come throw him down. Fire burned him. After

azū̍ a piru sō̆ víni̍ wúna rȧ, wūza á ká bė me bé kủ
when fire burned finished grass, his brothers they did not

mbá. bė kyē̍ ri̍ yā kủ. bė ri̍ bȧ kủ
see him. They walked looking-for him. they were calling him a

nù. bė ze yȧ fo kí bi̍ra a wūza bủ bé
call. They took went reached at place which their brother

tò zíka kóò ní. bè me wũza bù bé gà nà kí dyina.
set net there. They saw their brother lying on the ground.

kù rí ki̍ nde kùtó. piru sõ víni̍ diri bá tété.
He was crying a cry. Fire burned finished all his body.

wũza á ká bè kõ̍ sõ̍ kù yà kí tàna. a
His brothers they gathered carried him went to home. When

kù yà fo kí tàna ní, wũ ní sà á yúnu ʻpina aná
he went reached at home, the child did not do two days

kù wù ru. kù da fù nă bá ká bà pikína a pepe.
he died. He left his parents with black heart.

dyina bù wũ a n dyíra ànùmàm.
Name of child (was?) Anumam.

6.5. The Strange Case of the Hyena and Miss Vissia's Dog Maxie.

va azủ̍ a i̍ syi̍ kí Lúpwé kéréní tami ka fó á
Since when we are at Lupwe here, a hyena has never

kí yô kéré rả aná. amá, dyíná áfi̍se ní, i̍ nả m̤ả i̍ nâ rả aná.
entered at in here. But today night, we didn't sleep a wink.

i̍ rả i̍ fỏ tami kã̍ bê zủ kí nikyỗ tảna m̉.
We heard a hyena chase a dog go-from at door of my house.

asé, Maxie kủ gả nả kí ni̍kyỗ kóỏ tẽ. á̤ Maxie me tami númá ní,
Now, Maxie he lay at door there too. Maxie saw hyena just,

kủ kã̍ ba tami bả sye. du fủ̍ títî númá,
he chased followed hyena with running. Left little only (Almost)

tami kủ ku kí yô syára zape. ái̍ wủnu ká i̍ p̤u zu kí mi̍,
hyena he fell in inside of well. We men we went-out to outside,

i̍ fỏ bê kẻ nde kủtó. Now, hyena had-caught that dog. Maxie
we heard dog crying. asé, tami pã bê kủ ní rả. Maxie

kã̍ ba tami bả sye. kủ ri̍ dả vâ, wỏ, wỏ,
chased followed hyena with running. He was barking, Woof, Woof,

wỏ. kủ kã̍ ba tami ní númá, yả gbã̍
Woof. He chased followed the hyena only, went killed(figuratively)

kí gba Lísa̍m. kí yãkẽ bwà a syi̍ ní,
on road-to Lisam. After this thing,

Maxie ka sẽ̍ ba̍ á kí ta̍na ṭị́.
Maxie returned came to home again.[37]

6.6. A fight with a chimpanzee.

kí yô bủ sona á kủ a wă̍ zủ yả syi̍ ní,
In month it is which passed went this,

wủnu Lísảm zũ̍ ri̍ kõ kpãgă bá kí dảra. kủ
a man of Lisam was watching his corn on farm. He

mbyả taba zũ̍ a ká nẻ syi̍ kóỏ. yúnu zũ̍ ní
made a platform which he-will climb be there. One day

kủ syi̍ kí syi̍na bủ taba. kủ ze re zỏ bá, me yả kí
he was on top of platform. He lifted his eyes, saw went

nù dảra. kủ rả kủ me **nủmá ní**, kủ me bảwâwái
to edge-of farm. He (") he saw only, he saw a chimpanzee

ka ri̍ bi̍ kí yô dàra kpãgă bá. kủ te kí dyina
entered coming in his farm-of corn. He descended to ground

mỏ mỏ. kủ du sye yả kí bi̍ra a bảwâwái syi̍ kóỏ ni.
quickly. He ran went to place which chimpanzee was there.

bảwâwái me pere ní sye ri̍ bi̍ kí bi̍ra bá, ákủ tĕ kủ
Chimpanzee saw the man run coming to him place, he tor he

du sye ka yả kí wủna. pere ní sye ba kủ.
ran entered went in bush. The man ran followed him.

azŭ̍ a pere ní yả pã kủ ní, kủ to kủ bả kúna. kủ
When the man went caught him, he stabbed him with knife. He

ka wã re kúna kủ to kủ sŭ̍. bảwâwái ní kủ
put-in took-out knife he stabbed him again. The chimpanzee he

pu kã pã pere ní kủ bả pere ní ŋgả ŋgả rả. kủ gbỏ
turned caught the man he with the man wrestled. He pulled

fyẻ kúna kí vo bủ pere ní. kủ ri̍ syŏ̍ kủ ze to
removed knife from hand of the man. He wanted that-he take

pere ní tẽ. ákủ pere ní kủ yã ni bà zŭ a ká
stab the man too. The man he lacked anything which he-will

sả. kủ pã bảwâwái ní wẽ̍ ta fŭ̍ yả kú makã.
do. He caught the chimpanzee seized threw went to ground(?).

kúna fyẻ zŭ̍ zủ kí vo bá ku kí dyina. pere ní
Knife went-out left from his hand fell to ground. The man

yả ze re kã kúna ní, to bảwâwái bả kủ.
went picked-up in-turn the knife, stabbed chimpanzee with it.

azŭ̍ a bà ní fỏ tutu ní, kủ pã re vo bủ pere ní
When the thing felt pain, he caught the hand of the man

dủ yả kí nù bá. kủ zŏ̍ gbã̍ ki̍vo bủ pere ní.
put-in went in his mouth. He bit killed finger of the man.

amá, pẹre ní da fẽ á ku̍ mbá. ku̍ to ku̍ to tò ba̍
But the man left him not. He stabbed him stabbing with

ku̍na a syi̍ hár ku̍ gbã̍ bu̍sỗ ní. ku̍ du sye ya̍ kí ta̍na.
the knife until he killed the animal. He ran went to home.

ku̍ ya̍ ba̍ bándu á ká. be̍ bi̍ fã̍ ba̍wâwái ní.
He went called his people. They came skinned the chimpanzee.

ku̍ sõ̍ bu̍sỗ bá ya̍ hwẽ̍ dyi̍ kí ti lísa̍m. har
He carried his meat went sold in market of Lisam. Until

tamá, ki̍vọ bu̍ pere ní azũ̍ a bà ní zõ̍ ku̍ kóò ní
now, finger of the man where the thing bit him there

yi̍ma bá syi̍ má tiri.
its wound is still-there.

6.7. A buffalo hunt.

pere zŭ̍ syi̍ kóò, á pere táto.

There was a person, he-was a person of Tato.

yunu zu ni, ku ze syágbả bá di dyíra kủ yả yã bủsõ̂

One day, he took his quiver that he go look-for animals

kí wúna. azŭ̍ a kủ yả kí yô wúna ní, kủ kyẽ̍ ri̍ yã

in bush. When he went into the bush, he walked looking-for

bủsô. kủ me á zò bủ bủsõ̍ mbá. kủ syi̍ kí

animals. He did not see sign (eye) of animal. He was in

fúna bà a kíkyẽ̍, kủ yả me pã bảra bủ wủdyi ká.

midst-of thing walked, he went saw-caught tracks of buffaloes.

kủ ba bảra bủ wủdyi ri̍ yả. azŭ̍ a kủ syi̍ kí fúna bủ

He followed track of buffalo going. When he was in midst of

kyẽ̀, kủ yả du diri bả kpo wủdyi a syi̍ na ʼzŭ̍

walking, he went met self-of rogue (?) buffalo who was alone.

kủ wã re tíka kủ ze sẽ̍ kí yi̍to. kủ tả wủdyi bả

He took-out arrow he took put on bow. He shot buffalo with

tíka. wủdyi du sye yả. ákủ pere ní kủ ri̍ ga rả wủdyi mả

arrow. Buffalo ran went. The man he thought when buffalo

kpa̍ syi̍ ya̍ títî, kyana á ze ku̍ ta̍ kí dyina.
advance go a little, poison will take him throw to ground.

áku̍ pere ta̍to ní ku̍ ba wu̍dyi ri̍ ya̍. ku̍ kpa̍ syi̍
So the man of Tato he followed buffalo going. He advanced

ya̍ títî, ku̍ ya̍ du diri ba̍ wu̍dyi. azŭ̍ a wu̍dyi
Went a bit, he went met self with buffalo. When bufallo

me ku̍ númá ní, ku̍ du ba̍ ŋgô bi̍ kí bi̍ra pere
saw him just, he rose with anger came to place-of person

ta̍to ní, da̍ pere ní ta̍ kí dyina, ku̍ to ku̍ ba̍
of Tato, hit the person threw to ground, he gored him with

gasa. áku̍ pere ní ku̍ ga̍ na̍ kí dyina ri̍ da̍ vâ. kí yãkẽ a
horns. The person he lay on ground yelling. After this

syi̍ ní, pere ta̍to zŭ̍ kyĕ̍ ri̍ yã bu̍sô tẽ.
thing, a person of Tato walked looking-for animals too.

ku̍ ya̍ me pã ba̍ra bu̍ wu̍dyi. ku̍ dŏ̍ ba̍ra bá ri̍ ya̍.
he went saw caught track of buffalo. He traced his track going.

ku̍ ya̍ du wu̍dyi ri̍ to pere zŭ̍ ba̍ gasa. áku̍ ta̍to
He went met buffalo goring a person with horns. This Tato

a syi̍ ní ku̍ syi̍ ba̍ nakam. ku̍ ta̍ wu̍dyi ní ba̍ nakam.
man he had a gun. He shot the buffalo with gun.

wùdyi yà ku kí dyina. pere ní gbă̍ re wùdyi ní,
Buffalo went fell to ground. The person killed the bufallo,

kù da fŭ̍ wùdyi kóò, bà pere ní a wùdyi tĕ̍
he left buffalo there, with the person who buffalo hurt

kù fó. kù yà bà pu ká kí tàna. bè bi̍
him a wound. He went called people at home. They came

sŏ̍ pere ní, ká zŭ̍ sŏ̍ bùsŏ̂ wùdyi ní.
carried the person, some carried meat-of the buffalo.

áku pere ní kù yà wù ru.
The person he went died.

6.8. The Strange Case of the Vegetarian Hyenas.

tami ká sà bà kyà zò. kí fùna bù yúnu ʹpina ní.
Kyenas did surprising things during these few days.

bè yà ka kí dàra rógo bù wùnu kwā̍bo zù̍
They went entered on farm-of cassava of a man of Kwambo

dyina bá rà Tswàki. bè kà sà bè kù rógo tété.
his name is Tswaki. They dug spoiled for him cassava all.

tami ká ní yà kā kí bi̍ra a wùwa ká ri̍ pè̃
The hyenas went in-turn to place where women were-drying

fyekē a bù bé kóò. bè ző fyekē ní, bè pù ká zù̍ yà
their peanuts there. They ate the peanuts, they took some went

bà kù. kí yākē bwà a syi̍ ní, ándi ní bè yà
with it. After this thing, day-before-yesterday they went

pā duŋa bù pere zù̍, bè gbè yà bà kù kí wúna.
caught sheep of a person, they pulled went with it in bush.

a bi̍ra kye bá ána ní, pere a sē duŋa ní
When place dawned next day, the person who owned the sheep

kù dő̍ ba bàra bù tami ká ní nűmá yà fo
he traced-followed tracks of the hyenas until (?) went reached

kí wúna. kù yà du pu ká pina gà nà nâ, wŭ 'zŭ̍zŭ̍ te syi̍
in bush. he went met two people sleeping, one boy sitting

bà mbere ri̍ tè sò piru. asé, á duŋa ní a bè
••••••••
down building fire. Well, it is the sheep which they

ne kí syi̍na piru kí yô bù pàra a kwaki. azŭ̍ a wŭ ní me
cooked on top of fire in a big pot. When the boy saw

pere ní númá ní, kù kè nde kùtó bù tami. pere a
the person just, he cried-out cry of a hyena. The person

sĕ duŋa ní dă̍ yà kù rà, ú ba nde. wŭza á ká pina
who owns the sheep said to him " Shut up!". His two brothers

bè fĕ̍ du kí nâ, bè me pere a sĕ duŋa ní,
they woke left from sleep, they saw the person who owns the sheep,

bè pù ru gohò bù tami, bè ri. syŏ̍ bè ze we kí
they took skin of hyena, they wanted that-they take put on

diri. pere a sĕ duŋa á dă̍ bè rà, ní syi̍ kpó.
body. Person who owns sheep said-to them "You hold-on!"

m bi̍ ḿ kana a ńínù ba ni aná. kí yăkĕ bwà a
I did not come war to-be-fought with you. After this

syi̍ ní, wŭza ká bù pere ă sĕ duŋa ní bè bi̍ tĕ.
thing, the brothers of person who own sheep they came too.

bẻ pã pu tami ká ní yả bả kủ kí yô ka.
They caught took the hyenas went with him(!) into town.

bẻ ze yả yả kuru yô ka. asé,
They took went gave-to chief-of town. You see, it was

pu ká ní bẻ ri̍ kả̍ kyẻ̍ 'ni tami. bẻ pã
the people they were-changing-into hyenas. They caught

víni̍ duŋa bủ pu ká a kí kwả̍bo. dyíná ní
finished sheep of people who were-in Kwambo. Today

syidǒ̍ ŋa bẻ rả. kủ fu mbere bủ bé
God has rejected them. He dug-up secret (bottom) of them

nả kí mi̍.
laid in open.

6.9. The Ten Commandments. This tentative translation illustrates some respects in which linguistic techniques may be applied to translation. Many of the details of constructions are taken bodily from the texts above. It is worth noting that such modes of expression, perfectly natural to the language, are frequently not suggested first by an informant. An informant, who is not a translator, tends to offer slavishly literal equivalents. A linguist, even when he is far from fluent in the language, can often suggest types of construction which the informant will, with fair dependability, accept or reject according to their structural and stylistic accuracy. This translation is tentative -- even preliminary -- in the sense that a linguist-translator-Hebraist-exegete-theologian working with intelligent informants, Christian and pagan, can undoubtedly make many improvements. It is not tentative in the sense that casual changes can be justified simply because a native Christian who reads the Hausa Bible has always said it differently.[38] A fairly literal translation is given with some explanatory footnotes.

ákù syidŏ̍ dă̍ dyíra ká a syi̍ ní tété	He-God said these words all
kù dă rà, ám syi̍ ʼni syí̍ndò ú syidŏ̍ bú	he said "It is I who am your Lord your God[39]
a ze zù u kí dyina bù màšar,	who took took-out you from land of Egypt,

kí tåna bu fo.	from house of slaves.[40]
1. ú ká ze du syidŏ zŭ̍	1. Do not take-meet any God
kí pyẽ ḿ aná.	in front of me.
2. ú ká mbyả bủsum a	2. Do not make any carved
hóhwả zŭ	fetish[41]
di dyíra bủ aná, bả bwà	for you, and anything like in
zŭ̍ syì rá kí	
bi̍ra kú dŏ̍, bả a syi̍ kí	place above (sky), and what is
bi̍ra	in place
kí dyina, bả a syi̍ kí yô	below (earth), and what is in
zape kí	water on
syi̍na bủ dyina. ú ká kẽ	top[42] of ground. Do not kneel
kí dyina	to ground
yả bẻ aná, ú ká wỏ bẻ aná.	for them, do not serve them.[43]
di dyíra	Because
ám syi̍ndỏ ú syidŏ̍ bú m syi̍	I your Lord your God I am
syidŏ̍ a	God who
ri̍ sả ki̍ba. m ri̍ ze bwà a	is jealous. I take[44] bad
bẻbẻ	things (deeds)
bủ tá ká yả kí syina bủ yi̍	of fathers go on head of
ká bả	children and

yɨ̍ ká dȧ ká ka sŭ̍, bȧ yɨ̍ ká dȧ ká	grandchildren again, and grandchildren
a kŏ̍ ʼpina,	who are second, (i.e., great-grandchildren),
bė syi̍ pu ká a ri̍ ŋa m. m ri̍ me	they are people who hate me.[45] I see
syi̍syî bu̇ pu ká di pere di pere	pitiableness[46] of people twenty-twenty
wuwe númá a ri̍ syŏ̍ m, bė syi̍	a whole lot[47] who love[48] me, they are
pu ká a ri̍ kŏ̍ dŏ̍ ḿ.	people who keep my law.[49]
3. ŭ ká bȧ dyina bu̇	3. Do not call the name of
syɨ̍ndȯ ŭ syidŏ̍ bú ʼte aná. di dyíra	your Lord your God merely.[50] Because
syɨ̍ndȯ ŭ kwá ze zu̇ pere a	your Lord will not take take-out the person who
ri̍ bȧ dyina bá ʼte kí kwè̆ mbá.	merely calls his name from justice.[51]
4. ŭ kyė pẵ bȧ yúnu a ŋa wò̆	4. Recall (?) catch with day of rest[52]

ú kŏ̍ kủ kyekye númá, sả bủwỏ bú	guard it (as) entirely clean. Do your work
fo yúnu ´syīdyī̍ ú sả víni̍ tété.	reach six days do finish all.
yúnu a kŏ̍ ´syīpī á yúnu a ŋa wŏ̀	Day which is seventh it is day of rest
di dyíra bụ̉ syī̍ndỏ ú syidŏ̍ bú.	for your Lord your God.
ú ká̧ sả bủsọ̉ zŭ̍ kí yô bá aná, áu bả	Do not do any work in it, you and
wū bú a wủnu, bả wū bú a wủwa,	your male child, and your female child,
bả fo bú a wủnu, bả fo bú a wủwa,	and your male servant, and your female servant,
bả bủ ká bụ́ a u rı̍ pyė, bả	and the things which you feed[53], and
kyona bú a ka kí tảna bú.	the stranger-to-you who entered your house.
di dyíra kí fủna bủ yúnu ´syīdyī̍	Because within six days

syɪ̍ndo̍ ú sa̍ bɪra kú dŏ̍ ba̍ bɪ̍ra kí	your Lord made the sky and the
dyina, ba̍ zape ba̍ bu̍ ká a syɪ̍ kí fu̍na	earth, and the water and things which are in
bá tété, ku̍ ŋa wȍ kí fu̍na bu̍ yúnu	it all, he rested in the day
a kŏ̍ ʻsyɪ̄pɪ̄. di dyíra bwà a syɪ̍ ní,	which is seventh. Because of this thing,
syɪ̍ndo̍ ú dã̍ sã yúnu a ŋa wȍ	your Lord spoke made-good the day of rest,
ku̍ tu̍ kye ku̍.	he washed it clean.
5. ú ya̍ tá ú ba̍ nă bú hwe,	5. Give your father and your mother honor,
a dyí syɪ̍di bú kú kpa̍ syɪ̍ ya̍ kí pyẽ	that your life it-may advance go to front[54]
nu̍nu̍ númá kí fu̍na bu̍ dyina a syɪ̍ndo̍ ú	very far in the land which your Lord
syidŏ̍ bú rɪ̍ ya̍ u ní.	your God is giving you.
6. ú ká gbã̍ pere aná.	6. Do not kill people.
7. ú ká sa̍ gyá aná.	7. Do not commit adultery.[55]

8. ú ká vi̍ vî aná.	8. Do not steal a stealing.
9. ú ká ze dyíra bu̍ mu̍sâ̂ bi̍ kí syi̍na bu̍ vyŏ̍ ú aná.	9. Do not bring a word of lying on the head of your fellow.[56]
10. ú ká su su̍ pikína bú kí ta̍na	10. Do not set your heart on the house
bu̍ vyŏ̍ ú aná. ú ká su su̍ pikína bú kí	of your fellow. Do not set your heart on
bi̍ra bu̍ wa bu̍ vyŏ̍ ú aná, bá̍ fo bá a	place of wife of your fellow, and his servant
wu̍nu, bá̍ fo bá a wu̍wa, bá̍ nè bá,	male, and his servant female, and his cow,
bá̍ dyaki bá, bá̍ bu̍ ká zű̍ bu̍ vyŏ̍ ú tété.	and his donkey[57], and any things of your fellow.

7. Vocabulary.

The following is a combined vocabulary of the two dialects, designed so that a student of either dialect can readily use it, and so that a comparative study of phonemic equivalents in the two dialects can easily be made. Forms are listed in two columns. The left-hand column is for the Takum area; the right-hand column is for Wukari. Identical forms are listed in both columns. A blank in either column indicates that the corresponding form is not recorded for that dialect. A dash (--) indicates that the corresponding form definitely does not exist. Parenthesized forms are those which correspond to the other column, but which are out of alphabetical order. That is, the forms not in parentheses in each column are in alphabetical order, and the parenthesized forms are found elsewhere in alphabetical order and not parenthesized. Some known loan-words are included without comment.

The alphabetical order of initials is as follows: /a, b, d, dz, f, g, gb, h, i, k, kp, m, mb, n, nd, ŋ, ŋg, p, r, s, t, ts, u, v, w, y, z/. Note that the digraphs /dz, gb, kp, mb, nd, ŋg, ts/ belong after all entries under /d, g, k, m, n, ŋ, t/. For example, /gb/ does not precede /ga/, but follows /gy/; /ts/ does not precede /tu/, but follows /ty/.

Within a series of entries identical in consonant and vowel, the order of tones is: low (no mark), mid /'/, mid-low fall /`/, high /´/, high-low fall /ˆ/.

Verb phrases are normally entered only under the first stem; if the second stem is not recorded independently, it is not entered at all. If the first stem is not recorded independently, the phrase is entered in the alphabetical position of the first stem.

Classification of entries is indicated only where it is not obvious. The noun prefix /a̍/ in Wukari is omitted in all cases. The rarer prefix /a/, and the prefix /á/ in both dialects, are indicated by the prefix tone marks /`, ´/. These do not affect the alphabetical order, which depends on the stem initial.

/a/

takum	wukari	
a	a	W /wa/ initially, introduces attributives. See 4.5.
a-	a-	noun prefix, not common; see initial of stem.
--	a̍-	common noun prefix; see initial of stem.
á	a̍	possessive 3.s.; W /à/ finally; T only for respectful form
á	á	recapitulating 3.s.
á	--	before verb, indicates potential action; for combinations with pronouns, see /bá, Kwá má, ná, wá, yá/
á	á	before noun, indicates identification, 'it is'

/b/

ba	ba	follow
--	ba	/ba hṹ/ over there; cf. /hṹ/
ba nde	ba nde	V-N be quiet
(bara)	ba	bag
bã	bã	tie together, fasten together, graft; T /bã bẽ̍/ perform a wedding ceremony; T /bã vyõ̍/ make a compact of friendship
(bana)	bã	stone
bả	bả	be with; with, and; W have (cf. T /syi̍ bả/)
bả	bả	call; T /bả kủ nủ/, W /bả kủ nde/ call him; T /bả d́yibà/ Write a letter
(bẻ)	bả	spoil, be bad, make bad; /bá dyini̍/ go bad; /tsả bả/ make bad
bã̍	--	inspect, investigate
bà		a belch; /ge bà/ belch; see also T /bwà/
bá	--	before verb, indicates a type of potential action
bá	--	subj. 3 pl. plus indication of potential action
bá	(ả)	possessive 3 s.
(bê)	bá	dog
bá	bá	before some nouns, indicates a plural; T /bá syò/, W /bá tyủho/ elders, older brothers; W /bá ti/ some (pl.)
bái̍ndỏ	(tyamáfi̍)	spider

(bu̍sum)	bákı̍nde̍	fetish, fetish dancer, fetish area
bana	(bã)	stone
bănı̍	bănı̍	there is none; he (she, it) is not there
bándu	bándu	people, companions, friends; T /búndu á ká / his people
bara	(ba)	bag
ba̍ra	(be̍)	foot, leg
bára̍		time, occasion; /bára̍ʹsa̍ra̍/ 'three times
(kãfa̍ra)	bárábárá	sword
ba̍wâwái		chimpanzee
be	be	money; T /be so̍na/ taxes, tribute
	bẽ	fold
	bẽ	*V*: /bẽ vyẽ̍/ give off smoke
be̍	be̍	cover, wrap (*esp*. for warmth); T /be̍ kyana/, W /be̍ kyẽ/ sit on eggs; T /be̍ sı̍ kẽ̍/, W /be̍ tsi kyẽ̍/ cover, put a lid on, close; W /gu̍ be̍ tu̍kpa̍/ wrap oneself in a garment
be̍	(ba̍)	spoil, be bad, make bad; /sa̍ be̍/ spoil, ruin; /a be̍bè/ bad
(ba̍ra)	be̍	foot, leg
be̍	be̍	*subj. 3 pl.; obj. 3 pl*. (W /bè/ *finally*); W *possessive 3 pl*. (/bè/ finally); cf./bé/
bẽ̍		marriage; /bã bẽ̍/ perform a wedding ceremony; /gbã̍ bẽ̍/ dissolve a marriage; /fĩ fã̍ bẽ̍/ desert one's spouse
	\`bẽ̍	large, heavy trap

bé	bé	obligatory subj. 3 pl.; recapitulating 3 pl.; T respectful possessive 3 pl.; T /bu bé/ possessive 3 pl.; cf. /bė/
	bé	(/bė/T): W /ȧbyė bé zȯ/ it got dark
bê	bá	dog
bi̍	bi̍	come; W /ku̇ ri̍ bi̍ tsȧ bu̇tsȯ/ (T /kwá sȧ bu̇sȯ/) he will work; T /dyì a ri̍ bi̍ ní/ next year
bí	(i̍)	possessive 1 pl.
	bí	sieve
	bi̍kyáku	domestic cat
bína	(byí)	goat
bi̍nâ	(gúdú)	bed
bi̍ra	(byė)	place; /bi̍ra kú dȯ/ sky; /bi̍ra kí dyina/ earth; /bi̍ra kye/ morning dawned, it got light; /kye bíra rȧ?/ Good morning!
biru	(byu)	oil; /biru fyekẽ/ peanut oil
bȯ		V: /bȯ zape/ be thirsty
(tíka)	bȯ	arrow
	bó̍	an officer subordinate to the chief.
bu̇	bu̇	thing, possession; for T singular, cf./bwà/; T /á bu̇ ḿ/ W /á bu̇ m̂/ it is mine; T /bu̇ ní/ possessive 2 pl., /bu̇ bé/ possessive 3 pl., cf. /bá, bí, bú, ḿ/; T/bu̇ ká/ things, possessions,

		T /bù ká bú ká/ 'your things; this stem is probably the first element in several compounds
bú	(ú)	possessive 2 s.
bùdyi̍	bùdyù	food
	bùkĕ	gown
buna	(kuna)	small-necked gourd
bùsò	(bùtsò)	work; T /sà bùsò/, W /tsà bùtsò/ do work
bùsŏ̂	(wi̍)	meat, animal
bùsukú	(yŏ̍)	snake
bùsum	(búki̍ndò)	fetish, fetish dancer, fetish area; /hwà bùsum/ make an offering to a fetish; /mbyà bùsum/ costume a fetish dancer
(tam)	bùtyi̍	hat
(bùsò)	bùtsò	work
(gbă̍)	bwă̍	kill
bwà	(bù)	thing; pl. /bù ká/; /kí yăkĕ bwà a syi̍ ní/ afterwards; some informants say /bà/; see also /bù/
	byă̍	spread (also /dyò/); /byă̍ tyù kí gúdú/ spread a mat on the bed
(bi̍ra)	byè	place; /byé ndò/ village
byĕ̍	byĕ̍	ripen; heal; T /byĕ̍ zò/, W /byĕ̍ zò/ and /byĕ̍ byĕ̍/ be clever
(wúna)	byĕ	grass

(ʻzérè̍)	byĕ̍byĕ̍	truth, true (?); /kù̍ dā̍ byĕ̍byĕ̍/ he told the truth
(bína)	byī́	goat
(biru)	gyu	oil

/d/

da		name of a game
da		be bad (?), miss (?); /bwà a da/ a fault; /á da númá/ slowly; /da dyíra/ (V-N) do wrong, sin; /da fā̍/ avoid, get away from; /da fū̍/ (W /ta tī̍) remain, be left, leave; /da fū̍ títī/ a little is left; not quite; almost
da̍	da̍	hit, beat; T /da̍ vâ/, W /da̍ nde ku̍tó/ yell, shout'; W /da̍ dó/ (cf. T /na̍ dóra/) be sick
(da̍ra)	da̍	farm
dā̍	dā̍	say, speak; T /dā̍ ya̍/, W /dā̍ yī̍/ say to, tell; T /dā̍ dyíra/, W /dā̍ dyí/ speak, talk; T /dā̍ (ye) nù dīyī̍/ speak Jukun
	ʻdā̍	small red ants
adá	dá	cutlass
	dā́	fence watting
da̍gbê̄		baboon
	ʻda̍pá	small hawk

dàna	(dȅ)	root
dàra	(dà)	farm
	dára	penny
de		V: /de nâ/ be sleepy
dȅ		(or /sà dȅ/) extinguish
dè̆	dȅ	honey
(dàna)	dȅ	root; T /dȅ yìna/ 'tree root'
dèdè		season (?); /dèdè bù ʼnunu/ harvest (dry) season
di	di	body, self (? only in some phrases ; cf. /diri/); T /di dyíra/ that, because, reason
dídi	dídi	(W /dídɪ/?) shadow; departed spirit; also personality, soul (?)
diri	(di)	body, self; /diri tàna/ wall of a house; /diri bù bé/ themselves, each other
(du)	do	(one dialect perhaps recorded wrongly) rise, leave; W /do dȍ/ stand up, get up; W /do tsé dȍ/ stand up straight; W /do tyí dȍ/ sit up; W /do ná/ 'wake up; W /do kí ré/, T /du kʼré/ get out of here
do	do	bonniseed
	dŏ	wild onion
(dòra)	dò	sickness; W /dà dò/ be sick
dȍ	(dzwà)	(or /dȍ ba/) follow (a track)

dŏ̍	dŏ̍	area above; T /kú dŏ̍/, W /kí dŏ̍/ above; T /bi̍ra kú dŏ̍/ sky
adŏ́	dŏ́	(W prefix?) a kind of monkey
dòra	(dò)	sickness; T /ná dòra/ be sick
du	(do)	rise, leave (see W /do/); T /du sye/ run (away)
du	du	obtain, meet, find; T /du diri bă̍ pere/ meet a person
	dù	(and V-V /dù ki̍/) pound in a mortar
(duŋa)	ˋdŭ	sheep
	ˋdudu	stool (said to be archaic)
dŭgbari	(wi̍dyĕ)	hippopotamus
dúmá	(ŋgyi̍fi̍)	vulture
duŋa	(ˋdŭ)	sheep
´dùp	(´dzwė)	ten
dyĕ	dyă	get lost, lose
(zape)	dyape	water
dyê		go up (?)
(dyina)	dyĕ	ground
dyê	dyé	fish
(dyibà)	dyebù	leaf, greens (one dialect wrongly recorded?)
dyi̍	dyi̍	be sharp
dyi̍	dyi̍	eat (soft foods), consume, conquer; T /dyi̍ fo/ defeat; T /nù dyi/ defeat, annihilate; T /hwĕ̍ dyi̍ bà/ sell; W /àhi̍ dyi̍ pyu/ or /àpyu dyi̍ hi̍/ the wood caught fire

dyí	dyí	(*T only in one phrase*) word, speech, matter, what pertains to; T /a dyí/, W /a dyí/ *or* /di dyí/ that, in order that; *for* *most uses in* T, *see* /dyíra/
dyì	(dyủ)	year
dyî	dyí	dirt; T /kủ syi̍ bả dyî/, W /kủ tsả dyí/ it is dirty
dyibà	dyebủ	loaf, greens; T *also* paper; T /tả dyibà/ write a letter; some informants say /dyibwà/; (/e/ *for* /i/?)
dyina	(dyĕ)	ground; /bi̍ra kí dyina/ the earth; /kí dyina/ down
dyina	(zĕ)	name
dyína		fear; /sye dyína/, cf. W /zi̍ zī/ be afraid
dyíná	dyíná	today
dyíra	(dyí)	word, speech, matter, what pertains to; /di dyíra/ because, that; /dă̍ dyíra bá/ talk about it
	dyini̍	down, on the ground (*cf*. T /dyina/, W /dyĕ/; W /kủ fĕ̍ dzé dyini̍/ he woke up
(zo)	dyo	friend
	dyokĕ	enemy (?)
zò	dyó	dancing, playing; /dyó dyó/ *V-N* play; /gbe dyó/ dance
(zó)	dyó	play (?); /dyó dyó/ *V-N* play

	dyo̍	lay down, spread (?); cf. /byă̍/
(zuru)	dyu	rope
(dyì)	dyu̍	year
	dyúkŭ	in /a̍pa dyúkŭ/ people; cf. T /pu ká/

/dz/ (Wukari only)

	dzé	in /ku̍ fĕ̍ dzé dyinì/ he woke up
(zo)	dzo	weave
(zu̍ ?)	dzu	(dzu̍ ?) go out (?); rise (of sun)
(zíka)	dzú	net
(zŏ)	dzwă	bite
	dzwa̍	V in /tu zu̍ dzwa̍/ go down (?)
(dŏ̍)	dzwa̍	(/dzwă̍/ ?) follow (a track)
	dzwa̍	in V-N /dzwa̍ yĕ/ sneeze; cf. T /sa̍ tisyé/
(zŏ̍)	dzwă̍	eat (food requiring chewing)
('du̍p)	'dzwe̍	ten
(kwĭ)	dzwĭ	toad (and frog?)

/f/

fă		be hot; /a fĭfă/ hot; /yúnu fĭfă/ noon, afternoon
	fă fĕ	be stingy
fa̍	fa̍	turn over; T /fa pu kă/ turn over; W /fa̍ gbă̍ hŭ/ pour out
fă̍	fă̍	skin (flay)

	fă̍	let go, leave alone, go out of
fe		in /fĭ̍se fe/ night fell
	fe	prepare (food) for later, parboil
fĕ	fĕ	untie; T /fĕ bĕ̍/ desert one's spouse (also /fĭ fă̍ bĕ̍/)
fe̍	fe̍	fry
fĕ̍	fĕ̍	wake up; T /ku̍ fĕ̍ du kí nâ/, W /ku̍ fĕ̍ dzé dyini̍/ he woke up
(túbúru)	fĕ́	house lizard
fi	(fyi)	leopard; T also /fi pă pere/
fĭ	(fyĭ)	trouble; /sa̍ fĭ/ take pains, trouble oneself, work for nothing
fĭ fă̍		(fĕ fă̍ ?) untie; see /fĕ/
(ki̍ba)	fi̍	jealousy
	fi̍	/a̍byè̍ tse fi̍/ it got dark
fĭ̍	fĭ̍	(rare in Takum) inside, midst; W /fĭ̍ ka/ (in) town; W /ˆfĭ̍ tse/ it got dark; at night
(fúra)	fí	sheltered gathering place; /fí ti̍/ market place
fĭfĭ	(fyi̍)	rat
fĭ̍se		night, at night (apparently not immediately cognate with W /fĭ̍ tse/); /yô fĭ̍se/ during the night
fo	fo	arrive at; /ya̍ fo/ go to

fo	(yă)	slave
fŏ̀		pus
fò	fò	hear, feel; /fò vyà/ feel well; T /fò tutu/ feel pain; T /fò mbòra/, W /fò mbò/ be hungry; T /fò kyúra/, W /fò ŋgyùkyú/ hear a voice
fò	fò	T /syi̍ fò títī/, W /tyi̍ fò títí/ wait a minute, soon
fŏ̍		cut up
fó	fó	a wound; /tĕ̍ kù fó/ wound him
fó	fó	*V* never; T /kù sà fó á mbá/ he has never done it
fu	fu	dig up (as roots), dig (as a hole), wash to separate good from bad
(furu)	fu	unfermented drink made from corn
fùna	(fi̍)	inside, midst (*cf.* T /yô/)
áfunù		then, next (*in the future*)
áfunù		/sà ʻsyī áfunù/ (?) how?
fúra	(fí)	sheltered gathering place; /fúra tì/ market place
furu	(fu)	unfermented drink made from corn
	fyă fyŏ	cough
fyáma		thread
	fyĕ	/fyĕ ná/ be sleepy; *cf.* T /de nâ/
(pórá)	fyè	eggplant

fyė		pull out
fyĕ̍		learn
fyekĕ	fyekĕ	peanuts
(fi)	fyi	leopard
	fyi	gums
(fĭ)	fyĭ	trouble
(fĭfĭ)	fỳi̍	rat
	fyŏ̍	rat
	fyŏ̍	cotton
	fyŏ̍	a wound (cf. /fŏ̍/)

/g/

ága	ga	stick, staff
ga	ga	think (W also /ga kó)
gȧ nȧ		lie down
gȧdu̇ru		wild pig
	gāgă̍	a kind of drum
gă̍tí	(hyĕ̍)	medicine
gasa	(hyu̇)	horn
gasyiná		black ants
ge bà		V-N belch
gė	gė	cut; T /gė ga/, W /gė ke/ cut up; T /gė gbă̍/slaughter, butcher; /gė tă̈/ cut down; /gė zŭ̍/ cut apart
(gohȯ)	gehȯ	skin

	gi	bowl-shaped calabash
(kem)	gi̍ gi̍	be short
gŏ̍	gŏ̍ gŏ̍	be tall, high, long
gohò	(`gehò)	skin
gòndò		ground
goŋgò	goŋgò	plantains; T <u>also</u> bananas (W <u>Hausa</u> /ayaba/)
góro		kola nut; /kusá góro/ calabash full of kola nuts; one hundred
gŏ́yíra		needle
(bìnâ)	gúdú	bed
gyá		illicit sex relation; /sà gyá/ commit adultery or fernication (<u>not used in aspect of completed action</u>)
gyè	gyè	<u>in</u> /ḿ gbá gyè/ Hello!

/gb/

gba	(yătyò)	path, road, way; /gba kema/ near; /gba nùnù/ far away; /gba nùrà/ long ago; /gba wo/ road, highway
gbă	gbă	shatter
gbă̍	(bwă̍)	kill; /gbă̍ dyi̍/ exterminate
	gbă̍	<u>in</u> /fă (<u>or</u> nde) gbă̍ hŭ/ throw away
gbằ gbă̍		fast, intensely
gbàm	gbă gbă̍	be strong
gbàma		strength; /gbàgbàma/ hard, with effort

gbara		fist-fighting
gbãsyi		red
gbe	gbe	pull out (esp. from ground), extract
gbe	gbe	T /gbe zò/, W /gbe dyo̍/ dance
gbe̍	gbe̍	pull, pull on, drag; T /gbe ya/ tear in two

/h/

(yi̍na)	hɨ̍	(hyɨ̍ ?) tree, stick, wood
	ho̍	do to completion, do to several objects; /za ho̍/ sweep up (everything)
	hó rá	(or hó wá) those
(kpõ)	hũ	rub, polish, iron
	hũ	/fa̍ (or nde) gbã̍ hũ/ throw away
(wu̍)	hu̍	die
(makã)	hṹ	over there; /wa hṹ/ that (over there); /ku̍ kí ba hṹ/ he's over there; /ku̍ ri̍ ya̍ hṹ/ There he goes!; /ká ya̍ ba hṹ mbá/ Don't go there!
(hwẽ)	hwã	neck
hwa̍	hwa̍	pay; T /hwa̍ bu̍sum/ wake an offering to a fetish
hwa̍	hwa̍	carve, hew out, wake pointed; T /yi̍na a hóhwa̍/ a pointed stick
(wo̍)	hwa̍	grind (on a stone)

(kŏ̍)	hwà	/wa hwà pyĭna/ the second
hwă̍̀	hwă̍̀	scratch
	hwắ pă kwĭ	wildcat
hwe		authority, honor
(we)	hwe	be large, high; /hehwe/ large, much, many
hwĕ	(hwâ)	neck
hwĕ	hwĕ	count
(wè)	hwè	hair; /hwè syĭ̍̀/ hair (on the head)
hwĕ̍	hwĕ̍	barter for, buy; T /hwĕ̍ dyi̍ bà/, W /nde ... hwĕ̍̀/ sell
	hwĕ̍̀	shave; /hwĕ̍̀ sĭ̍/ shave (the beard)
	hyé	mushroom
(kyana)	hyĕ̍̀	medicine, poison
	hyi̍	sandfly
(kòkwái)	ˋhyi̍	partridge
(gasa)	hyù	horn
(yùra)	hyù	forest

/i/

(ni)	i	emphatic particle referring to subject, occurring after verb: /àkù yà i/ it is he who went
i̍	i̍	subj. 1 pl.; obj. 1 pl. (W /l/ finally); W possessive 1 pl. (/i̍/ finally)
í	í	obligatory subject 1 pl.; recapitulating form 1 pl.; T respectful possessive 1 pl., cf. /bí/

/k/

ka	ka	enter, come to; ? /ka dyí/ set (of sun); W /ka pyẽ/ go ahead
ka	ka	repeat; T-W /ka sẽ̍ bi̍/ come back; T /ka sũ̍ W /ka mbyå ka/ (do) again
	ka	after verb, expresses ability; /n di̍ bi̍ tswã̍ ka/ I can lift it
ka	ka	town wall; T /yô ka/, W /fi̍ ka/ (in) town
kã	kã	T /kã yaků/, W /kã hwetṹ/ be old
kã	kã	change, do in turn; /pu kã/ change, turn over, turn around; T /fi pã kã ků/ the leopard turned and caught him (instead)
	kã	V nail down
(kẽ)	kã	bow, kneel; /kã dyini̍/ bow down
(můsã̍)	kã	a lie
kå	kå	dig (cf./fu)
kå		be first
	kå gbẽ̍	defeat, overpower
kã̍	kã̍	drive away
kã̍		time, occasion (?; cf. /bárå/); /kã̍ ʼsårå/ three times
(kåna)	kã̍	finger ring
	kã̍	crab

ká	ká	plus /mbá/ or ? /aná/ at end of sentence, indicates negative obligatory; /ká yȧ mbá/ Don't go!; /í ká yȧ mbá/ Let'us not go; T usually /aná/ for /mbá
	ká	this, here (?); /wa kí ká/ or /wa ká/ this (?)
ká		after nouns indicates plural; /ká zũ̍/ (kâ zũ̍/ ?) some (of them)
(kána)	kã́	charcoal
	kã́ kã	tell a lie
kãfåra	(bárábárá)	sword
káfi		nails, claws
kákí	kákyí	Diana (?) monkey
kåm		wring out, squeeze
kana	(kẽ)	war
kåna	(kã̍)	finger ring
kána	(kã́)	charcoal; T also /kã́piru/
kara	katíri̍	axe
(tété)	kátá	all
kazȯ		/yúnu kazȯ ní/ this evening
kẽ	(kã)	kneel, bow; /kẽkí dyina/ bow down
(kana)	kẽ	war
	kẽ	snap in two
ʻkė	ʻkė	what?; T /yúnu ʻkė ní/ when?
kė́ba	kė́	bone

kĕ́kĕ		only; /kủ tủ tủkpả'kĕ́kĕ/ 'he only washed the clothes'
kĕ̍kĕ̍		everlasting (??)
kem		be short
kema		short; /syi̍ kema/ be short; /gba kema/ near; /syára kema/ a shallow hole
kéni̍		/a kéni̍/ every
kéré	(kí ré)	here
keta		(/kita/ ?) locust
ketá	(ki̍tá ?)	(/kitá/ ?) pool
ki	kyo	split
(páná)	`ki	shield
ki̍	(kủ)	/ki̍ nde/ <u>V-N</u> cry out; /ki̍ nde kủtó/ cry loudly, wail
kì	ki̍	corpse, carcass, death
	kĭ̍ yé	/bả kĭ̍ yé/ <u>or</u> /yỏ kĭ̍ yé/ be clever
kĭ̀	(kĭ̍ kyĭ̍)	a fly; T /kĭ̀ bủ dĕ̀/ bee
kí	ki̍, kí	be located at (T cf. /kú/; <u>usually after</u> verb); to, at, on, from, in, <u>etc</u>.
ki̍ba		jealousy; /sả ki̍ba/ be jealous
kira	(kyi̍)	mashed food
kírí	(tyủ)	mat
(ketá ?)	ki̍tá	stream, creek
kĭ̍vo	(kyĭ̍vo)	T finger; W fingernail, claw
ko	(kwa)	sew

(ku ?)	ko (?)	fall; set (of sun)
(kora)	ko	canoe
	ko	murderer (?)
	kõ	termites
kõ	(kwã)	be big, be fat
kó	kó	dip
kõ̍	kõ̍	take care of, stay with, wait at
	kõ̍	set wall around a compound
kõ̍	(hwȧ)	/a kõ̍ ˋpina/ the second
kõ̀		drum, tambourine
kóó	(tiri̍)	there (a known place); /ku̍ syi̍ kóó/ he's there
kókwái	(ˋhyi̍)	partridge
kora	(ˋkyi)	cheek
kora	(ko)	canoe
ku	(ko)	fall; set (of sun)
ku fõ		throw away
(kuru)	ku	chief
(ki̍ nde)	ku̍ nde	/ku̍ nde ku̍tó/ cry out, wail
ku̍	ku̍	(W *one informant* /gu̍/ *in rapid speech*): *subj. 3 s.*; (W /kù/ *finally*) *obj. 3 s.*; T /a ku̍ ní/ (?) that; T /áku̍ pere ní/ that person (*continues story*)
	kũ̍	hoe handle
kú	(kí)	T, = /kí/ *before* /Ca, Co, Cu/ *and labial* /Ci, Ce/

kú	kú	obligatory subj. 3 s.
kúba		back of the body (small of the back?)
kum		liver
kuna	kwĕ	mountain
kuna	(kwĭ)	chicken
kùna	(kwĭ̀)	millstone
kúna	(kwĭ́)	knife
kúnúbè	kúnúbè	knee
kúnúve	kúnúve	elbow
kuru	(ku)	chief
kúrùkùtù	(ăzyèyĭ̀)	dove
kusá		gourd, calabash; /kusá (góro)/ a calabash full (of kola nuts); one hundred
kusókusó		a cough; /sà kusókusó/ cough
kùtó	kùtó	a cry, an animal call; T /kì nde kùtó/, W /kù nde kùtó/ cry out; T /ki nde kùtó bù tami/ make the cry of a hyena
	kutswĕ̀	twins
(ko)	kwa	sew
(kŏ)	kwă	(and /kwă kwă/) be big, be fat
	kwà	weave, plait (?)
kwá		subj. 3 s. plus indication of potential
kwaki	kwakyi	big
	kwe	bowl-shaped calabash
(kuna)	kwĕ	mountain

kwè̆	kwĕ̍	justice, law case
(buna)	ˋkwĭ	small-necked gourd
(kuna)	kwĭ	chicken
(kůna)	kwĭ̍	millstone
(kúna)	kwĭ́	knife
kwĭ	(dzwĭ)	toad (and frog?)
kyă̍	kyă̍	cross
kyă̍kyă̍	(ˋswė)	guinea fowl
kyana	(kyĕ̍)	poison, medicine
kyana	(kyĕ)	egg; but T /kyĕkuna/ chicken egg
kyåzȯ		wonder, surprise, strangeness
kye	(yĕ̍, kye)	be clean, bright, pure; T /tůkpå kye rå/, W /tůkpå yĕ̍ rå/ the clothes are clean; T /zāpe kye/ the water is pure; T /bĭ̍ra kú dŏ̍ kye/ the sky is clear, bright; T-W /kye bĭ̍ra rå ?/ Good morning!; T /kikye/ or /kyekye/ clean, bright, pure (holy); (suggested;) /dĭ́di a kyekye/ the Holy Spirit
(kyana)	kyĕ	egg; T /kyĕkuna/, W /kyĕkwi/ chicken egg
ʻkyĕ	ʻkyĕ	tomorrow; T initially /ákyĕ/ would have
kyĕ̍	kyĕ̍	walk; T /kyĕ kyè̆/ go for a walk (?)
kyĕ̍		/kă kyĕ̍/ change oneself into
kyĕ̍	kyŏ̍	walking
(kora)	ˋkyi	cheek

(ki̍ra)	kyi̍	mashed food
	kyi̍	mash (in /du̇ kyi̍/ mash in a mortar)
	kyɨ̍	life (?), heart (?)
(kyɨ̀	kyɨ̍	a fly
	kyɨ̍	claws; /ya ku̇ kyɨ̍/ claw him
(kɨ̍vo)	kyɨ̍vo	T finger; W fingernail
(ki)	kyo	split
kyona	kyŏ	stranger
	kyŏ (?)	a trip; /yȧ kyŏ/ go on a trip
(kyĕ̀)	kyŏ̍	walking; /kyĕ kyŏ̍/ walk
(ge bà)	kyu̇ kyú	(or W /gė kyú/, /ge kyú/ ?) belch
kyűra	(ŋgyu̇kyú)	throat, voice; T /m fȯ kyűra bú/ I hear you

/kp/

kpȧ syɨ̍	kpȧ sŭ̍	go forward
kpă̍	(pa̍)	scrape
kpâtí		palm; /yiri kpâtí/ palm kernel (and nut?)
kpămkpăm		long age
kpăgă		corn
kpŏ	(hŭ)	rub, polish, iron
kpó	kpó	T /syi̍ kpó/, W /tyi̍ kpó/ Hold on!; just a minute!
	kpu̇yɨ̍	back teeth

/m/

m	m	subj. and obj. 1 s.
ḿ	ḿ	recapitulating form and (W /m̂/ finally) possessive 1 s.
ma̍	ma̍	conditional aspect particle, before verb; T combinations with pronouns: /ma̍/ 1 s., /wa̍/ 2 s.
(ma̍na)	ma̍	salt
mă		older sister (?)
mafā̆ (?)		unmarried man (?)
makā̆	(hű)	over there; /kű makā̆/ over there
ma̍na	ma̍	salt
mâzu̍ (?)		alive
ma̍		/syi̍ má tiri/ be there, remain; /na̍ má tiri/ dwell
mé	(mbya)	see, look at; /me ku̍/ or /me zò bá/ see him
mi̍	mi̍	build
mi̍	(myė)	outdoors, in the open
mi̍ syi	mi̍ (mi)	sprinkle (of rain)
mikína		(or /pikína/) heart; /mbu mikína/ be happy; /mikína a mbumbu/ happiness; /mikína a pepe/ grief
mo	mo	be full, fill; T /We mo/ pour full
mo̍		/mo̍ mo̍/ or /mo̍ mo̍ mo̍ mo̍/ quickly, in a hurry
muka	(mbu)	flour

mùsâ̂		a lie; /gè mùsâ̂/ tell a lie
(mi)	myè	outdoors, in the open

/mb/

mba	mba	bear (a child)
	mba	measure, weigh
mbà		/yánu mbà rà/ the time come
mbá	mbá	at end of all negative sentences, but T sometimes /aná/, esp. with obligatory
mbere	(wǒ)	part underneath; /kú mbere bù pàra/ under the pot; /te syì bà mbere/ sit down; /fu mbere/ uncover a secret
mbòra	mbò	hunger; T /m fò mbòra/, W /m fò mbò/ I'm ungry; also T /mbòra gbấ m rà/, W /àmbò rì bwấ m/
(muka)	mbu	flour
mbu	mbu	be white; /a mbumbu/ white
(me)	mbya	see
mbyà	mbyà	make with the hands, repair, fix up, prepare
mbyè	mbyè	ask, inquire

/n/

na	na	hoe up, plant
na	na	greet
ʼna	ʼna	yesterday (T often /ána ní/)

na̍	na̍	lie down; T /ga̍ na̍/ lie down/; T /na̍ má tiri/ dwell/ T /na̍ do̍ra/ (W /da̍ do̍) be sick; T /na̍ nâ/, W /na̍ ná/; W also like aspect particle before verb or /ri̍/, indicates present (?) action, /ku̍ na̍ (ri̍) tsa̍ bu̍tsó/ he's working; W /be ná fɨ̍ tă̍/ they're in the house; /be̍ ná ndo̍/ they're at home
(nè)	na̍	cow
ná		subj. 2 pl. plus indication of potential
aná		emphatic (?) negative, used especially with obligatory; see /mbá/
nâ	ná	sleeping; T /na̍ nâ/, W /na̍ ná/ sleep; T /de nă̍/ be sleepy
nă		mother (common form); cf. T /ye/, W /ye̍
nágbá	(ne̍)	scorpion; /nágbá bu̍ bê/ large black scorpion
nakam		gun; cf. W /pyu/ fire
nakyŏ̂	(yă̍kyŏ̂)	doorway, door
nami	(numi)	crocodile
na̍mtâ	(pĕ)	a kind of antelope
ne	ne	cook by boiling
ne	ne	a hoe
ne̍	ne̍	climb, go up
(nágbá)	ne̍	scorpion
nè	(na̍)	cow
	néne̍	tongue

(kum)	nénè ˋgbe̍	liver
ni	ni	be tired
ˊni	(i)	after verb, emphasizes subject; /ání sà ˊni/ Who did it?; /ám sà ˊni/ It is I who did it.
ni̍	ni̍	subj. 2 pl.; (W /nì/ finally) obj. 2 pl.; W (/nì/ finally) possessive 2 pl.
ni̍	ˋni̍	where?; T /u rí yà kí ni̍/, W /u rí yá ˋní/ where are you going?
áni̍	(kani̍)	who?
ní	ní	obligatory subject, 2 pl.; recapitulating form 2 pl.; T respectful possessive 2 pl.; T ordinary possessive /bù ní/
ní	(rá)	this, the
níkyõ (?)		doorway, door (cf. /nàkyȭ/)
ˊnini̍	(ˊtsũtsà)	sight
níŋa	(nú)	river
nu	nu	husband
nù	nù	fight (a war); T /nù kana/, W /nù kẽ/ fight a war; T /mù dyi̍/ defeat in war
nù	nù	mouth; T /bà kù nù/ (cf. W /bà kù nde/) call him
(níŋa)	nú	river
	nukũ̍	cf. T /yúnu ˊkè/ when?

númá	númá	just, only, indeed; T /wuwe númá/, W /hohwe númá/ a whole lot; T /(azꜝǔ a) ku̇ yȧ númá (ní)/ as soon as he went
(nami)	numi	crocodile
ʼnunu		/dėdė bu̇ ʼnunu/ harvest (dry) season
nu̇nu̇		esp. in /gba nu̇nu̇/ far away
nu̇rȧ		esp. in /gba nu̇rȧ/ long ago

/nd/

(ndo)	nda	(and /ndanda/) be heavy
nde	nde	in ; T-W /ze nde/ agree; T /kꜝi nde/, W /ku̇ nde/ cry out; T-W /ba nde/ be quiet; W /bȧ ku̇ nde/, cf. T /bȧ ku̇ nù/ call him
(ze)	nde	take, pick up (often followed by verb of specific action)
ándi		/ándi (wȧ)/ long ago; /ándi nꜝi/ day before yesterday
ndo	(nda)	be heavy
	ndȯ	household, compound, home (understood in Takum, but rare)
	ndu	fish net
ndúra		small bag
(yu)	ndye	pound (metal), forge

/ŋ/

ŋa	ŋa	hate, reject
ŋawõ̀	ŋa	in T /ŋa wõ̀/, W /ŋa wõ̍/ breathe deeply, rest
ŋàna	(yi̍)	(front) tooth

/ŋg/

ŋgà	ŋgà	try; T /ŋgà ŋgà/ (prob. V-V) wrestle
ŋgò	ŋgò	be tough; T /ŋgò ngô/, W /ŋgò ngó/ (V-N) be angry
ŋgô	ŋgó	anger
ʼŋgyà (?)		/má rà ʼŋgyà fo kóò ní/ before I get there (?)
ŋgyârà	(tsíne)	hawk
(dúmá)	ŋgyi̍fi̍	vulture
	ŋgyisyó	shilling (also /syó/)
(ki̍vo)	ŋgyivo	finger
(kyúra)	ŋgyùkyú	threat, voice

/p/

pa	pa	rub, polish (cf. T /kpõ/, W /hũ/), rub on (oil)
(pere)	pa	person; pl. /pa dyúkũ/
pã	pã	catch, receive; T /pã gba/ set out; T /pã bùsò/ begin work; T /pã be sòna/ collect taxes; T /fò pã kyúra/ hear a voice; T /me pã/ catch sight of
(kpã̍)	pã̍	scrape
páná	(ki)	shield

´páná	´páná	how many?
påra	(pė)	pot
pe	pe (pe)	be black; T /mikína a pepe/ grief
pẽ		roll up
nåmtâ	pẽ	*kind of antelope*
(påra)	pė	pot
pẽ̍	pẽ̍	spread out or hang up to dry (cloth, peanuts, etc.)
pẽ̍		jump
	pẽ̍	snatch; /pẽ̍ wã/ snatch away, save by snatching
pere	(pa)	person; *pl.* /pu ká/
(pu kã)	pi kã	change, turn over, turn around
pĩ̍		insert; /pĩ̍ zuru/ put a rope through a small hole; /pĩ̍ súwá/ string beads; /pĩ̍ fyáma kú gõ̍yíra/ thread a needle; /pĩ̍ zape/ pour water into a small hole or small-necked container; /pĩ̍ gã̍tí/ give an injection (*after the needle is inserted*)
pikína		(*or* /mikína/) heart
´pina	(´pyĩna)	two
piru	(pyu)	fire
(pu)	po	open
	pỗ	pound sterling

pỏ		camp; /pỏ kana/ camp of battle
pora	(pyo)	hole through something; window
póŕa	(fyẻ)	eggplant
pu	(po)	open (?); /pu zu kí mi̍/ go outside; /pu fŏ̍ / open, uncover; /pu kā̃/ change, turn over, turn around (cf. W /pi/); /pu pora/ open the window
pu ká	(pa dyúkŭ)	people; cf. T /pere/
pủ		pick up ?); /pủ kŏ̍/ pick up (little things) (?)
ʻpŭpŭ̍	ʻpŭpŭ	in the morning
	pwa	pierce, put a hole through; /pwa té tyỏ/ put a hole in (but not through)
pyẽ	pyẽ	front, earlier time
(ʻpina)	ʻpyīna	two
pyê		new; a new thing (?); /kủ na a pyê/ it is now; /kủna a pyê/ a new millstone
(pora)	pyo	hole through something, window
(piru)	pyu	fire; W also gun, cf. T /nakam/

/r/

rả	rả	(W /ră̍/ after nasalized vowel) after verb indicates action continuing up to or taking place at the present; /kủ yả rả/ he is gone; /kủ ri̍ yả rả/ he is moving away (?)

ra̍		*indicates a report or narration* (?); /dyina bú ra̍ ʻke̍/ What is your name?; /ku̍ dã̍ ra̍/ he said (*not* he has been saying); *sometimes used before verb*
(ní)	rá	this, the
re, ri, ru		(W /ri, ri̍/ ?) *indicates single completed* action; /ku̍ sa̍ ri/ he did it (*cf*. /ku̍ sa̍/ he did it, he has done it, /ku̍ sa̍ ra̍/ he has done it, he has been doing it)
(kéré)	ˋrè	here (*also* /kí ré/)
ri̍	ri̍	*before verb indicates incomplete action*
	ríkya	several

/s/

sa	sa	blood
sã	sã (sã)	be good
sa̍	tsa̍	do; /sa̍ bu̍so̍/ work; /sa̍ za̍/ help; /sa̍ be̍/ spoil; /sa̍ víni̍/ do to completion, finish; /sa̍ bu̍dyi̍/ prepare food
	sa̍	blow gently (of wind)
ʻsa̍ra̍	(ʻtsa̍ra̍)	three
se	(tse)	tie
sẽ	sẽ	own (W *also* /sẽ dyi̍/); T /a sẽ ta̍na/, W /wa sẽ ndo̍/ house-owner, family head
sẽ	sẽ	put down (on a place); W /sẽ bye̍/ cover

	se̍	touch (?); /a̍hĭ̍ se̍ pyu/ <u>or</u> /a̍pyu se̍ hĭ/ the wood caught fire; /dyape se̍ pyu ra̍/ (cf. T /zape fă ra̍/) the water is hot
se̍	(tse̍)	stand
	se̍	stalk
sè	(tsu)	tribe, people of
sĕ̀	(tyĕ̍)	a kind of corn beer
se̍	se̍	(<u>or</u> /sé/?) until); T /se̍ ʽkyĕ/, W /sé kyĕ/ Goodbye (<u>until tomorrow</u>), Goodnight
asé		Well, what do you know!
	sĕ́	in /a sĕ́ `dyi̍/ that (demonstrative) (?)
sere	(tse)	bundle, load; /sere zà/ bundle of guinea corn
si̍ kĕ̍	(tsi̍ kĕ̍)	cover, close
	si̍	beard
	sĭ̍	swordgrass
(súra)	sí	yams
sika	so	beans
so	(tso)	sing (a song)
so	so	be rotten, rot, be corrupt; W /so bắ dyini̍/ rot (of fruit)
sŏ		burn (<u>cf</u>. W /se̍ pyu/, /pă pyu/)
sŏ	(tsŏ)	hang up (<u>as on a nail</u>)
(sona)	sŏ	moon, month
(su sú̍)	so̍	set down
sŏ̍	(tswă̍)	pick up and carry (on the head)

sŏ̍		/sŏ̍ pere sŏ̀/ *or* /sŏ̍ pere sȯna/ send a person
sò	(tsȯ)	a spear
sŏ̂	(tsŏ̍)	care
sŏ̍bȧra	(sŭ̍bė)	upper leg
sona	(sŏ)	moon, month
sȯna		*in* /sŏ̍ pere sȯna/ *or* /sŏ̍ pere sŏ̀/ send a person
sȯna	(tswĕ̍)	the world, the land (?); *in* /fi̍ sȯna/, W /fi̍ tswĕ̍/ the world; T /be sȯna/ taxes
ʻsȯnȧ	(ʻtswă̍nȧ)	five
sóna	(tswĕ́)	load, burden
sŏ́piru	(tsŭ́)	ashes
su`	(tyu)	rain; T /su ri̍ tȧ/, W /tyu ri̍ tȧ/ it is raining
sŭ̍		do again, *esp. in* T /ka sŭ̍/, do again, *but also independently*
	sû	many
(sŏ̍bȧra)	sŭ̍bė	upper leg
suma	syuma	*in* T /tȧ suma/, W /tȧ syuma/ be cool, be damp, be chilly
súra	(sí)	yams
su su̇	(sȯ)	set down
súwá	(tákŭ́dė)	beads
(kyă̍kyă̍)	swé	guinea fowl
syã	(sye)	peel

syágbà	(tyágbà)	quiver
syára	(syi̍)	hole in something; T /syára mape/ well (cf. W /syi̍ dyape/ water hole (as in a dry creek bed)
sye	sye	run; T /sye sye/, W /sye syo/ run; T /du sye/ run away;
sye	(syo)	running
sye		in /sye dyína/ (cf. W /zɪ̍ zɪ/) be afraid; /sye syéra/ converse
	syĕ kɪ̍	cry quietly, sob
syéra		conversation; /sye syéra/ converse
syi̍	(tyi̍)	be, sit, dwell; T /kù syi̍ títá ḿ/, W /àtà ḿ tyí i/ it is my father; T /syi̍ kí, W /tyi̍/ be at (W /tyi̍ kí/ sit at, dwell at; /kí/ also be at); T /a syi̍ ní/ this, cf. W /wa tyi̍ hű/ what is there, that; T /syi̍ bà/ (W /bà/) be with, have; T /syi̍ ba/, W /tyi̍ ba/ wait for; T /syi̍ fò/, W /tyi̍ fò/ wait; T /syi̍ kpő/, W /tyi̍ kpó/ Hold on!
(syára)	syi̍	hole in something; /syi̍ dyape/ water hole (cf. T /syára zape/ well
'syɪ̍		/sà 'syɪ̍ áfunù/ how?
syì	trouble;	/sà syì/ make trouble; /pere syì/ a poor pitiable?) man

syi̍di	(tyi̍di)	life, spirit, soul, personality (exact range not known)
syidŏ̍	(tyidŏ̍)	God
ʻsyīdyī	(ʻtyīdyĕ̍)	six
syī̍kuna		mountain (top) (W /tyī̍kwẽ/ ?; cf. T /kuna/, W /kwẽ/ mountain)
syinà		grasshopper
syi̍na		head, top; /a syi̍na ʻnzŭ̍/ alone
(wî)	syíni̍	nose
syī̍ndò	(tyī̍ndo)	master
ʻsyīpī	(ʻtyīpyī)	seven
syī̍tàna		roof
syìrá		imitation (?); /kù sà syìrá ká yà/ he acted as if he would go
ˋsyi̍tá	syità	pepper; W /syità mítyí/ ginger (Tiv pepper)
	syŏ̍	collide; /syŏ̍ bà/ meet by chance
syŏ̍	(tyŏ̍)	want, like, need
syò	(tyŭ̍ho)	older brother or sister
asyóʻ	(tyó)	iron
	ˋsyó	shilling; cf. /ŋgyìsyó/
(suma)	syuma	in T /tà suma/, W /tà syuma/ be cold, damp, chilly

/t/

ta	ta	plant (not sow)
ta	ta	show; /ta yá m/ show it to me
ta		spread out, fix up; /ta bi̍nâ/ make a bed (W /mbyà gúdú/)

(da fu̍)	ta ti̍	be left over
tā	(yu)	hide
ta̍	ta̍	*in* T /ta̍ suma/, W /ta̍ syuma/ be cold, chilly, damp; T /ta̍ suma nú/ lazily, half-heartedly
ta̍	ta̍	throw, shoot, sting; winnow, sift; T /ta̍ bana/ throw a stone; T /ta̍ tíka/ shoot an arrow; T /ta̍ wu̍dyi/ shoot a buffalo; T /ta̍ zà/ winnow (fan) guinea corn; T /ta̍ muka/ sift flour; T/ta̍ dyibà/ write a letter; W *uses comparable*
ta̍	ta̍	fall (of rain, tree); T /su ri̍ ta̍/, W /tyu ri̍ ta̍/ or /ku̍ ri̍ ta̍ tyu/ it's raining; T /gè ta̍/ fell (tree); W/ ta̍ fá/ drizzle (of rain)
	ta̍ ka̍	break in two
tá	ta̍	(W /tá/?) father; T *only in respect, cf.* /títá/
(ta̍na)	ta̍	house (W, *single structure*, cf. /ndò/ compound)
taba	(tewa)	platform, porch
(súwá)	tákúdè	beads
ta̍ki̍ra	tâkwi̍	kitchen (*dialect forms not cognate*)
tam	(bu̍tyi̍)	hat
tamá	tamá	right now (*past or future*); /bi̍ tamátamá Come immediately
tami	tami	hyena

tana	(kŏ)	termites
ta̍na	(tă̍)	house; T <u>also</u> compound, <u>cf</u>. W /ndo̍/
ʻtâni̍	(ʻtsūyĕ̍)	nine
	ta̍syi	a kind of corn beer
ta̍ta̍		/ta̍ta̍ ba̍ra/ sole of the foot; /ta̍ta̍ vo/ palm of the hand
te	te	push; T /te ku fŏ̍/ pour out, throw away
te	(tu)	go down; /te syi̍ kéré/ sit down here
tē		also, in turn
te̍	te̍	press; T /te̍ piru/ start a fire; T /te̍ ka/ break in two; T /dyina a téte̍/ clay
te̍		/a te̍ kóo̍/ the second, the other; /a te̍ kā kóo̍/ the third (in series of three?), the next; cf. T /kŏ̍/
tĕ̍	tĕ̍	/tĕ̍ ku̍ fó/ wound him
te̍ba̍		back (lower back?), behind
tété	(kátá)	all
	ti	in /bá ti/ some (<u>pl.</u>); <u>cf</u>. T /ká zŭ̍/
tì	ti̍	market; T /fúra tì/, W /fí ti̍/ market place
tíka	(bo̍)	arrow
tíkáŋgóró	\`ti̍kapyu	chameleon
tiri̍	tiri̍	T /má tiri̍/remain, dwell; W /kí tiri̍/ be there, /kí tiri̍ kí ndo̍/ be (still?) in the house
tíri̍		again (?)

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tisyé	(yẽ)	a sneeze; /sa̍ tisyé/ sneeze
ti̍syė	(ti̍tyė)	basket
títá	(tá)	father (common form; respectful; /tá/)
títî	títí	small, a little, few
(ti̍syė	ti̍tyė	basket
to		pierce, stab, gore, claw; /to̍ ku̍ totò/ gore him repeatedly
(yɨto)	to	bow
to̍	(tswa̍)	set (a trap); also /tó to̍/ ?
(tutú)	to̍	mortar
tóra	(tsõ)	trap
tu	tu	be difficult; W /ku̍ tutu/ or /ku̍ tsa̍ tu(tu)/ it is difficult
(te)	tu	go down; W /tu zu̍ dzwa̍/ descend; /tu bẽ dyini̍/ kneel
tu̍	(tso̍)	wash
túbúru	(fẽ́)	house lizard
tu̍kpa̍	tu̍kpa̍	cloth, clothing
	túkpe	wooden dish
tutu		pain; /fo̍ tutu/ feel pain
tutú	(to̍)	mortar; /wũ tutú/ pestle (child of mortar)
(syágba̍)	tyágba̍	quiver
(bákindo̍)	tyamáfi̍	spider
(sẽ̀)	tyẽ̍	a kind of corn beer
(syi̍)	tyi̍	be, sit, dwell; for uses, see T /syi̍/
(syɨna)	tyɨ	head, top

	t̀yĭ̍	driver ants
(syĭ̍di)	tyĭ̍di	life, spirit, soul, personality (exact range unknown)
(syidŏ̍)	tyidŏ̍	God cf. tyu, rain; dŏ̍, above
(´syĭdyĭ̍)	´tyĭdyĕ̍	six
(syĭ̍ndó)	tyĭ̍ndó	master
(gba)	tyo	road, path
(syŏ̍)	tyŏ̍	want, like, need
(asyó´)	tyó	iron
(su)	tyu	rain; for uses, see T /su/
(kírí)	tyu̍	mat
(syò)	tyu̍ho	older brother or sister

/ta/ (Wukari only)

(sa̍)	tsa̍	do; /tsa̍ butsó/ work; /tsa̍ ba̍/ spoil; /tsa̍ bu̍dyu̍/ prepare food; /tsa̍ tu/ be difficult; /tsa̍ dyí/ be dirty
	tsá	red antelope
(´sa̍ra̍)	´tsa̍ra̍	three
(sere)	tse	bundle, load; /tse za̍/ bundle of guinea corn
(se)	tse	tie, tie together
	tse	get dark; /afĭ̍ tse (tse) ra̍/ or /a̍byè tse fi̍/ it got dark; cf. T /fi̍se/ night
(sè)	tse	stand
(ŋgyâra̍)	tsíne	hawk

	tso	cook (esp. by boiling, but cf. /ne/)
(so)	tso	sing; /tso vyŏ̍/ sing a song, sing
	tsŏ	hair of tail
(tŏ́ra)	tsŏ	trap
(sŏ)	tsŏ	hang up (as on a nail)
(sò)	tso̍	spear
(tu̍)	tso̍	wash
(sŏ̂)	tso̍	care
(sè)	tsu	tribe, kind, people of
	tsu̍	midnight
(sŏ́piru)	tsŭ	ashes
	tsúnu	night (?)
(ˊsyĭpĭ)	ˊtsúpyĭ	seven
(ˊninı̍)	ˊtsŭtsa̍	eight
(ˊtânı̍)	ˊtsŭyĕ̍	nine
(taba)	tswa	platform, porch
	tswa	prick (as a thorn)
(to̍)	tswa̍	set (trap, net)
(sŏ̀)	tswằ	pick up and carry (esp. on the head)
(ˊso̍na̍)	ˊtawa̍na̍	five
	tswĕ̍	town, town wall (?)
(so̍na)	tswĕ̀	world, land; /fĭ̀ tewĕ̀/ the world
(sóna)	tswĕ́	load, burden
	tswĕ́	a kind of corn bee
(zo̍syí)	tswí	star
	tswíˊ	thorn

/u/

u	u	*subj. and obj. 2 s.*
ú	ú	*obligatory subj. 2 s.; recapitulating form 2 s.*; (W /û/ *finally*) *possessive 2 s.* (T *respectful only; common form* /bú/)

/v/

va		/va azŭ̍ a/ since (the time when)
vâ		a yell, a bark; /da̍ vâ/ yell, bark
vĕ̍	vĕ̍	blow (hard); /wo ri̍ vĕ̍/ the wind is blowing hard
	vĕ̍	storage place for grain
vi̍	(vyi̍)	steal; T /vi̍ vî/ steal (*intrans.*)
(vu̍na)	vĭ̍	horse
víni̍	vĭ́ni̍	be all gone, finish; T /vín da̍/, W /víni̍ rĕ̍/ *or* /vĭ́ĭ̍ ră̍/ (it) is all gone; T /sa̍ víni̍/, W /tsa̍ vĭ́ni̍/ finish, do to completion
vo	vo	hand, arm
vo̍	vo̍	beg
	vokwĭ́	wages
vŏ̀	vŭ̍	sand
vu̍na	vĭ̍	horse
vyĕ̍piru	vyĕ̍pyu	smoke
vyĕ̍vyĕ		laugh
	vyi	move a little
(vi̍)	vyi̍	steal

vyõ̍	vyõ̍	fellow countryman (?), person with whom one is on good terms; T /bã vyõ̍/ make a compact of friendship

/w/

wa	wa	*introduces attributives*; W *initially*, T *initially only in slow speech*; W /wa zù/ perhaps
wa	wa	wife
wã	wã	pull out (of the way); T-N /wã zù/ save
wã		bunch (only of palm nuts?)
wà	wà	drink
wà		*subj. 2.s. plus indication of conditional*
	wà	stab
(wò ?)	wà	work for nothing, go to trouble; /wà fyĩ/, *cf.* T /wà fyĩ/ be in difficulty, take trouble
wã̀ zù	wã̀ zù	pass by
wá		*subj. 2.s. plus indication of potential*
wandi		kind of hawk, kite
we	we	pour in; T *also* put on (clothes); /we mo/ fill by pouring
wẽ̀	wẽ̀	blow (horn)
(wòm)	wẽ̍	be dry
wè	(hwè)	hair; /wè syìna/ hair (on the head)
(bùsṍ)	wì	animal, meat

	`wí	eagle
wî	(syíni̍)	nose
(dŭgbari)	wi̍dyĕ	hippopotamus
(wŭ̍dyi)	wi̍dyi	buffalo
(wŭ̍yĭ̍)	wi̍yĭ̍	elephant
wo	wo	wind
wŏ	wŏ	roast
wỏ	wỏ	dip; T /wỏ dirĭ/, W /wỏ di/ baths; T-W /wỏ tŭ̍kpả/ dye cloth (indigo)
wỏ	(wả ?)	serve
wỏ		<u>in</u> /wỏ zà/ grind guinea corn
(mbere)	wŏ̍	buttocks, bottom, underneath
wŏ̀	wŏ̍	hard breathing; T /ŋa wŏ̀/, W /ŋa wŏ̍/ rest, breath deeply
(wŭ̍)	wŏ̍	pick up (little things)
wỏm	(wĕ̍)	be dry
	wŏ̍ni̍	shade
	wỏwó	barking; /nả wỏwó/ bark; <u>cf</u>. T /wỏ/, <u>imitation of a bark</u>
wŭ	wŭ	child (of); <u>pl</u>. T /yĭ ká/, W /zyĕzyĕ/; T /wŭ títî/, W /wŭ títí/ a child; T /wŭ tutú/ pestle, /tutú bả wŭ bá/ mortar and pestle; W /wŭ tá/ brother or sister (child of the same father, but of different mothers); W /wŭ ti̍ syă/ small

		child, baby; W /wū a rí dyā/ infant (unweaned?)
wù	(hù)	die
wū̍	(wō̍)	pick up (little things)
wùdyi	(wi̍dyi)	buffalo
wúna	(byè̍)	grass, the bush
wùnu	wùnu	man, male
wùwa	wùwa	woman, female
wuwe	(hohwe)	a lot, many, much
wù̍yi̍	wi̍yi̍	elephant
wūza	wūza	brother or sister, companion

/y/

ya	ya	tear
yā	yā	look for, want
(fo)	yā	slave
yà	yà	go
yà	(yi̍)	give to, do for; /dā yà/ tell; /ze yà/ give to (also, without personal object, take away, take to (place); T /yà a ʼzéré kù bù dyíra ɓá/ believe his story
	yà	wrap around oneself; /gù yà tùkpà /wrap a cloth around oneself
	ʼyà	outdoors; cf. T /mi̍/, W /myè/
yā̍	yā̍	sow
yā̍	yā̍	praise

	yă̍ yá	yawn
yá		subj. 1 pl. plus indication of potential
	yá	palm; /ảhi̍ yá/ palm tree
yā̆kē̆	yā̆kē̆	back, behind, after; cf. T /kủ́ba/ and /tẻbả/; T /kí yā̆kē̆ bwà a syi̍ ní/ after this (in the past)
yakủ		/kã yakủ rả/ be old; /syi̍ wủnu yakủ/ be an old man
(ni̍kyō̂)	yă̍kyō̍	doorway
yảri̍	yả yả	be wide
	yātyỏ	path; cf. /tyo/ (tone?)
(tisyé)	yē̆	a sneeze; /dzwả yē̆/ sneeze
ye	(yẻ)	mother (respectful form; cf. nă)
(kye)	yĕ̍	be clean
ʻyẻnả	ʻyĕ̍nả	four
yi	yĭ	know; T also /yi fỏ/; T /yi sã/ understand
(yả)	yi̍	give to, do for
(ŋảna)	yĭ̍	front tooth
(yō̍bwà)	yĭ̍	bird
	yigo	pig
yĭ̍ ká		children: cf. /wū̆/; /yĭ̍ ká dả/ grandchildren
yi̍ma		(or /yủma/ ?) a wound
yi̍na	(hĭ̍)	tree, stick, wood
yiri		grain, kernel

yī̍to	(to)	how
yī yī̀		<u>V-N</u> (?), be thin
yizủ		alive (?)
yŏ	yŏ (yŏ)	be red, be red hot; T /yŭyŏ/ <u>attributive</u>
(nă)	yỏ	mother
	yỏ	<u>in</u> /tsả zả pa yỏ/ help a person, <u>cf</u>. T /sả zả pere/
yô	(fī̍)	inside; /yô ka/, W /fī̍ ka/ (in) town; <u>perhaps cognate to</u> W /`yỏ/ <u>in</u> /ayỏ tsủ/ at midnight (?)
(búsukủ)	yŏ̍	snake
yŏ̍bwà	(yī̍)	bird
(tă)	yu	hide; W <u>also</u> /sye yu/ (run and) hide (?)
yu	(ndye)	pound (metal), forge
yúnu	yŭ́nu	sun, day; T /yúnu fīfă/ noon, afternoon; T /yúnu kazỏ/, W /`yŭ́zỏ/ (?) evening
yủra	(hyủ)	forest
	`yŭ́zỏ	evening (?); also /`yŭ́nu zỏ tả/ (?)

/z/

za	za	sweep
za	za	crush, grind (as to extract oil)
ză		/ză diri (kí bī̍ra bủ)/ trust (in)
zà = zà	zả	guinea corn
	ză̍	break in small pieces, chop up, cut (as grass)
zŭdó		rabbit

zána	zã́	dish (W /`zã́/ ?)
(kpãgă)	zả kpa	corn (? /kpaŋgă/ ?)
zape	(dyape)	water, juice
ze	(nde)	pick up, take; /ze yả/ take away; /ze yả kủ/ give it to him; /ze zủ/ release; /ze zò/ be bright, dazzling (take the eyes); /ze bwà zŭ̍ sŏ̍ yả yả kủ/ send him something
ze	ze	T-W /ze nde/ agree
(dyina)	zẽ̆	name
	zẽ̆	/zẽ̆ dyí/ talk
zẻ	zẻ	be opposed to; T /zẻ ba/ an enemy (??)
(zyẽkuru)	zẽ̆ku	lion
ʼzérẻ		truth (?); /yả aʼzérẻ/ believe
(zye dyína)	zı̍ zı̍	be afraid
zíka		net
zo	(dzo)	weave = weave
zo	(dyo)	friend
zõ	(dzwã)	bite
zỏ	(dyỏ)	play; /zỏ zò/ play
zŏ̍	(dzwã̍)	eat (food that requires chewing)
zò	zỏ	eyes; T /byẽ̍ zò/ be clever
zò	(dyỏ)	playing, singing, dancing; /zỏ zò/ play; /gbe zò/ dance
zỏsyí	(tswí)	star

zủ	zủ	go out of, away from; T /zủ kí yô ka bì̍/ come here from town; T-W /wã zủ/ save, /wằ zủ/ pass by; T /gė̀ zủ/ cut in two; T /ze zủ/ release
zŭ̍	zŭ̍	pass (heard but dubious in both dialects)
ʻzŭ̀	ʻzŭ̀	one; in counting, T-W /ázŭ̀/ (T/ắzŭ̀/?); after noun; T-W /ʻzŭ̀zŭ̇/, sometimes /ʻzu/; /zŭ̍/ a certain, some, any; T /a zŭ̀ a/ the one which, the time when, the place where
	zŭ́	cuspid
zuru	(dyu)	rope, string
	zye	peel
zyĕkuru	(zĕku)	lion
	zyė̀yī̀	small pigeon
(yī̀ ká)	zyĕ̀zyĕ̀	children; cf. /wũ/

Footnotes

1. *Lupwe* (from Kutep /rupwẽ/) is the name of a mission station only; it is four miles south of Takum, and /dĭyi̍/ is the commonest of several languages spoken there by the varied population. Hausa is used as a lingua franca.

2. For further information on the Jukun people, see C. K. Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, London, 1951. Some linguistic material is included, but it is not entirely dependable. A language called Tigum, spoken to the southeast of Jukun, is quite closely related to it, but not mutually understandable. The present author and his wife are preparing a briefer study of Tigum.

3. For the sake of pattern, "velar" here -- as in many cases -- includes palatal /y/ and pharyngeal /h/, or everything back of alveolar position.

3a. At least 40 °/o of syllables in both dialects is nasalized -- an unusually high proportion for a West African language.

4. The morphophonemic elements in this situation are irrelevant at this point, but quite obvious from the examples.

5. /my/ is recorded in Wukari /mye̍/ (T /mi̍/) 'outdoors'. /mbyi/ and /myi/ are not recorded.

6. The etymology of /tyidŏ̍/ suggested to Meek (*cp. cit.*, p. 180) by Mr. Lowry Maxwell, a missionary who did some translation work in the Wukari area, is "the one who is above",

The tone, which Maxwell and Meek ignored, makes this impossible. It is true that /dò/ means 'area above', but 'be' is /tyi̍/ (T /syi̍/) and not /tyi/. The statement "This is the explanation also given by most intelligent Jukun" is not impressive. More likely such informants were only sophisticated enough to agree with the white man's proposterous theorizing; or else they had that dangerous little knowledge that enabled them to write a few words of their own language (ignoring tone as usual) and do their own theorizing apart from spoken forms. One cannot play fast and loose with tone in Jukun and expect valid results. The present author prefers not to enter the highly speculative field of historical etymology in this or other cases.

7. The tones are dubious in the Wukari form. In Takum, the cluster /ái/ is found in only one other word; /ây/ is another possible analysis.

8. After careful listening, I hear /àhi̍/ rather than /àhyi̍/. The Rev. Peter Ipema disagrees with me. Perhaps the nasal resonance obscures the friction of the vowel to me, and he is right. The /i/ in the Takum form tends to support him; but cf. T /kì/ 'corpse' beside W /àki̍/.

9. Although it has yet to be shown that any West African language is not tonal, few have such a wealth of minimal contrasts in tone as these dialects.

10. One Wukari informant says /àdzwī pyína/ in rapid speech, transferring the high tone to the first syllable of the

numeral. This is done only with the numeral 'two', which is the only one that consists of stem and suffix with low tone.

11. The Wukari form shows a different type of morphotonemic change: /bi̍/ to /bí/.

12. Compare the twelve minimally contrasting sentences in 1.9.1. This construction doubles the number.

13. This and the construction 'let us buy ...' add two more minimal contrasts to the sentences in 1.9.1. After low tone as in /hwē/ 'count', the noun with full prefix, /akwī/, is recorded. When contrast is not in the informan's mind, the prefix probably drops and 'count small-necked gourds' is probably identical with 'count chickens'. I have heard no difference in vowel length.

14. This form in Wukari implies a further series of minimal contrasts in tone. Any noun stem with its prefix (usually /à/, sometimes /a/) contrasts with the same stem after the identifying particle /á/. The most complete set is:

/àkwī/	'a chicken'	/á kwī/	'it is a chicken'
/àkwi̍/	'a millstone'	/á kwi̍/	'it is a millstone'
/àkwí/	'a knife'	/á kwí/	'it is a knife'
/akwī/	'a small-necked gourd'	/á `kwī/	'it is a small-checked gourd'

15. In some details, analysis was made difficult by the necessity of working with informants who speak Hausa but little or no English, and therefore of working through an interpreter much of the time.

16. Questions of morphophonemic alternation are related either to tone (see 1.9 above) or to specific morpheme classes. Hence they are discussed in their appropriate connections rather than in a separate section.

17. In Wukari, the stem /dya/ with the same meaning is reported.

18. Compare Kutep /kú̍tŭ̍pwà/ 'cloth'.

19. And related meanings. Fante bùsúm with about the same meaning may be a mere coincidence.

20. By analogy, the Wukari form may be wrongly recorded. The expected form is /wi̍yi̍/; Wukari does not seem to nasalise syllables by assimilation.

21. This analysis would be tenuous but for the fact that one Takum informant says /dyibwà/ 'leaf' and /bwà/ 'thing'. Otherwise Takum has no /bw/.

22. The Wukari form for 'my father' is recorded as both /àtà m̂/ and /àtá m̂/. I do not know which is right. In either case, the hardest trick is to get the absence of nasalization which distinguishes it from /àtǎ m̂/ 'my house'.

23. /ŕá/ in Wukari is dubious; see 2.10 below.

24. But the common Takum phrases /bi̍ra kú dŏ̍/ 'sky' and /bi̍ra kí dyina/ 'earth' are agglutinative phrases like those described in 2.3.

25. The Wukari phrase /fi̍ ka/ 'in town' is cognate to Takum /fŭ̍na ka/, which has about the same meaning but is less

common than /yê ka/.

26. It is significant to the linguist as well as the missionary translator that this construction may often prove to be a convenient equivalent, on the principle of correspondences, to the Biblical 'And ...'.

27. T /syi̍ ba̍/ and W /ba̍/ as well as /tyi̍/ 'be' are used only in this construction, so that the distinction of aspect is irrelevant.

28. Here the subject, unexpressed, is obvious from the situation. It might refer to food, money, time, or anything else remaining. Cf. /ku̍ da fŭ̍ títî/ (T) 'he left a little' (e.g., of food).

29. In Wukari, /ku̍ ri̍ ta̍ tyu/ is also recorded.

30. T /syŏ̍/, W /tyŏ̍/ is 'want' in the sense of 'like, desire, need'. /yã/ is 'look for'.

31. For /ra̍/, see 3.4.4 below. The point here is that 'think' is an incomplete action.

32. T /ka sŭ̍, W /ka mbya̍ ka/ are verb phrases meaning 'repeat, do again'. It is not known whether the word order here is invariable.

33. No levity is intended in referring to the common observation that when an African says 'I will do it' (even in English) it means that perhaps he will and perhaps he won't. His frequent failure to "keep a promise" may be mere of a linguistic ambiguity than a moral fault.

34. The Takum form may also be translated as 'we cannot work, we will not be able to work'.

35. This section is a fuller exposition of 2.7.9 above.

36. It may be observed that this attributive construction is perhaps one of the most productive in Jukun for expressing new ideas required by Americans living in Africa and for technical translations. Terms like 'manufactures, agricultural products, epidemic diseases, sterilized bandages, saints' and many others will probably make use of this construction.

37. To coin a phrase, "That ain't the way I heard it". The night was October 26, 1949. Upon rising from bed at Maxix's barking, I found him quite reluctant to move more than ten yards from our house (some distance from the informant's). The barking continued far longer than necessity or canine courtesy at 1 A.M. warranted.

38. The naiveté with which missionaries are generally supposed to accept any shot-in-the-dark guess an untrained informant in an artificial situation may offer as a translation is not so appalling as some linguists fear, but it is bad enough

39. /syidő/ 'God' is a proper name, so that /syidő bú/ 'your God' is not very natural, but seems to be acceptable.

40. /kuru/ 'chief' is used also for 'chieftaincy' (see 6.1 above), so /fo/ 'slave' probably applies also to 'slavery'.

41. /mbyà bùsum/ by itself means 'costume someone as a fetish dancer', though /bùsum/ can also refer to a fetish mound or object. /hwà bùsum/ by itself does not mean 'carve (/hwà/) a fetish', but only 'pay (also /hwà/) a fetish', i.e., offer a sacrifice to a fetish object. But /mbyà bùsum a hóhwà/ can only (I hope) mean 'make a carved fetish'.

42. 'Water under the earth' in Hebrew is streams, lakes, and occeans with their fish, crocodiles, etc. In Jukun, water under the ground is water in a well. The fish (and sacred crocodiles!) are in the water 'on top of the ground!

43. The phrase in common use at present for 'serve' is /sà fī/, which merely means 'go to trouble, bother oneself'.

44. /ri̍/ here does not imply 'I am getting jealous, I am taking'. It simply indicates incomplete action, in this case habitual.

45. This sentence, never easy to translate from Hebrew (or English), is the best I can do at present. The Hausa translation using tsara is quite suspicious, and translating it into Jukun yields something apparently meaningless.

46. The tones of /syi̍syî/ are dubious.

47. This seems to be about as numerous as one can get in Jukun.

48. /syŏ/ seems very weak for 'love', and I am not impressed by all the informants who insist there is no other word. I suspect that some day someone will overhear an

expression of a type like 'his heart is warm toward me', and there it will be. It cannot be expected that such an expression can be elicited from an informant. To him 'love' is a word in English and Hausa, and so it must be one word in Jukun.

49. 'The Ten Commandments' would be /dŏ ´dúp/.

50. /áte/ seems to be a little stronger than 'merely', but not simply 'in fun' or 'for nothing'.

51. I.e., 'release' or 'excuse' from just condemnation. This translation is based on as careful a study of the Jukun legal system as was possible in a short time. A thorough orientation in the legal system is obviously necessary for good translation of the many legal expressions in Scripture.

52. It strikes me that this may mean 'the day that rests', possibly an instance of an informant's natural literal-translationitis which I missed.

53. This is the common expression for 'domestic livestock'.

54. Compare the greeting to the chief in 6.1 above.

55. This command, almost always very difficult to explain and translate, is sometimes expressed by Jukun Christians as 'Do not look for a woman (or women)'. This could well include 'Don't seek to marry'. /sa gyá/ is not used in the construction of completed action; you have to say 'slept with a woman (or man)' (by implication not one's own, or it would not have been mentioned), 'did wrong', or some other paraphrase. But /sà gyá/ in other aspects has been carefully tested for meaning, and seems

to include all forms of illicit sex relations on the part of either a man or a woman, and no other type of wrong-doing. In spite of this, some suspicion is still in order. For example, is this phrase related to abnormal sex relations?

56. 'Bring word' is the technical expression for testifying in court. For /vyŏ̍/, basically 'fellow-countryman' (?), I can best say that to translate 'neighbour' as 'one who lives near' is silly. The Biblical 'neighbour' is a social relation, not a geographical one. /vyŏ̍/ expresses a social relation that at least has some connotation in common with the original.

57. /dyaki/ 'donkey' is Hausa. Most Jukun people seem to know about donkeys, but they are not seen in Jukun territory (at least around Takum), and Jukun has no native name for them. Note, however, the Jukun form, not jaki.

CORRIGENDA

P. 10, l. 6, should read, but starred clusters confined .....

P. 17, l. 17, tyey should be they.

P. 18, l. 9, /ẽ/ should be /õ/.

P. 23, l. 6, /kwī/ should be /kwī̌/.

P. 38, l. 17, /ba̍/ should be /bu̍/.

P. 39, l. 7, /a̍bo bu̍ wa̍dyi/ should be a̍be bu̍ wi̍dyi/.

P. 41, l. 1, /bína ka/ should be /bína ká/.

l. 2, /kara ka/ should be /kara ká/.

l. 6, /wũza á ká/ should be /wũza bá ká/.

P. 45, l. 11, 'noun subjects' should be 'noun objects'.

l. 20, Wukar_ example should read /ku̍ tsa̍ zá u ?/.

P. 47, l. 23, Takum example should read /ku̍ ya̍ kí yô ka/.

P. 48, l. 7, In Takum example /yê/ should be /yô/.

P. 49, l. 10, In Takum example /syi/ should be /syi̍/, last line Examples should read /m bá ku nù./ and /m bá ku nde./.

P. 61, In Wukari examples of numerals, high tone is missing over the prefix vowels of 'seven' and 'nine'.

P. 63, l. 22, should read, In Takum, the forms /a te̍ kóo̍/ 'second' and /a te̍ kã kóo̍/....

P. 67, last line, The example should read /ma̍na a be ya̍ ku̍ ní/

P. 83, l. 13, /m'ana/ should be /ma̍na/.

P. 93, l. 4, should begin /yúnu zū̍ ní, ku .../

P. 96, l. 3, 'Kyenas' should be 'Hyenas'.

P. 111, l. 4, Wukari form should be /byu/.

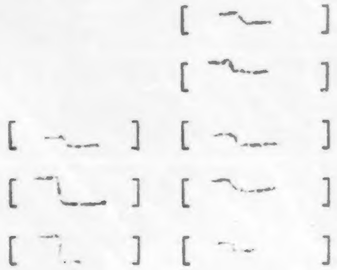
P. 114, l. 8, 'loaf' should be 'leaf'

P. 127, l. 9, Wukari form should be (hyè)

P. 146, l. 20, Wukari form should be /ˊtswànà/.

P. 27, l. 5, The melody of the final syllable should be entered in the brackets as follows:

Takum Wukari



'Is he going?'

'Did he go today?'

'Does he have guinea corn?'

'Does he have a dog?'

'Is he there?'